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Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year Year

Provisional

4081st Meeting

Wednesday, 15 December 1999, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Hain	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Al-Dosari
	Brazil	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Jagne
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. van Walsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Slovenia	Mr. Žbogar
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in Africa

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Africa

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, the Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Burundi, Cameroon, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kenya, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Uganda, Ukraine, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mesdoua (Algeria), Mr. Moore (Bahamas), Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Mr. Adam (Belgium), Mr. Nteturuye (Burundi), Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon), Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia), Mr. Mwamba Kapanga (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Ms. Rasi (Finland), Mr. Kastrup (Germany), Mr. Osei (Ghana), Mr. Sharma (India), Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia), Mr. Ryan (Ireland), Mr. Fulci (Italy), Mr. Takasu (Japan), Mr. Kuindwa (Kenya), Mr. Babaa (Libyan Arab Jamahirya), Mr. Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Powles (New Zealand), Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria), Mr. Kolby (Norway), Mr. Montiero (Portugal), Mr. Lee See-young (Republic of Korea), Mr. Mutaboba (Rwanda), Mr. Kamara (Sierra Leone), Mr. Kumalo (South Africa), Mr. Arias (Spain), Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda), Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine), Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Muchetwa (Zimbabwe) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Allow me, in my capacity as Council President, to make a few introductory remarks.

The Council and the wider United Nations membership have accepted the need to respond better to the challenges that Africa presents. The Secretary-General's report last year analysed the problems and, in response, there have been a number of Council debates and texts, but these have not always produced concrete action or concrete results. So we want today to focus on practical and operational ways to make a difference to Africa's problems and to help Africa's renaissance.

I want today's discussion to be a genuine exchange of ideas and views. Hence the innovative step of holding an active discussion in this Chamber, avoiding some of the usual time-consuming formalities. This is why we are also urging all speakers to confine their initial contributions to a maximum of five minutes, and I will try to obey that rule myself. If we all stick to this limit, there will be a chance to come back later and respond to what has been said by others so that we can create a more free-flowing and constructive discussion around, I suggest, three key questions.

First, how can we improve coordination and cooperation between the Security Council, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the key subregional organizations, including coordination of joint activity on specific issues? Secondly, how can we meet the needs for African peacekeeping more effectively and more quickly? Thirdly, what additional instruments can we, as the Council, bring to bear to help solve and, where possible, prevent conflicts in Africa?

Once all the speakers have been heard, I propose to call on as many as there is time for who wish to speak again. At the end of the day, I intend to sum up briefly and draw some conclusions. To open the discussion, I am delighted to call on the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: Mr. President, let me welcome you to Headquarters today.

May I first say how much I appreciate the sustained attention which both the Council and the General Assembly are giving to African issues. If meetings alone could solve Africa's problems we would have none, but, alas, they do not, which is why I appreciate even more,

Mr. President, the effort you have made to give this meeting a practical and operational character, aimed at making a difference not just in words but in action. As I told the General Assembly last week, the United Nations could hardly be any more broadly engaged in Africa than it is already. What we need now is to be engaged more effectively.

I also believe you are right, Mr. President, to focus, in the first instance, on the need for better coordination between the Council and regional and subregional organizations. This is particularly important in the area of peacekeeping.

During this decade peacekeeping has acquired a strong regional dimension virtually everywhere it has been practised. Asians took the lead in Cambodia, as they did again in East Timor. Similarly, in Bosnia and Kosovo peacekeeping has been seen primarily as a task for Europeans.

It is only natural that African States are expected to play a leading role in their own back yards, and in many instances they have risen bravely to the challenge. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) especially has made heroic efforts in the extraordinarily difficult circumstances in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

What is not natural, or indeed fair, is to expect Africans to carry out these tasks without help. Even the Europeans, who are better equipped in so many respects, have had significant help from others in keeping the peace within their region.

A region such as Africa is therefore even more entitled to expect help in strengthening the capacity of its regional and subregional institutions. This was a need which I highlighted in my report last year.

We in the Secretariat are doing what we can. We have intensified our own cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and are working especially closely with them in helping implement the Lusaka accord on the Democratic Republic of Congo. If the results have so far been disappointing, that is partly for lack of a clear will to implement the accord among the parties. But it is also a question of resources. In these circumstances there is always a tendency for ceasefires to break down and for the region to slide back into war. That is why the most immediate and practical decision I am looking for from the Council is to act promptly in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, before the fragile ceasefire is further eroded.

But it is no less urgent that necessary resources be made available to the Joint Military Commission to enable it to play the role foreseen for it under the Lusaka accord. We have already convened two meetings with potential donors to highlight this need. We should now explore jointly with the OAU how we can make the Joint Military Commission more effective and align it more closely with the work of the peacekeepers.

The same observation applies to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which has done invaluable work in West Africa — notably in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea-Bissau. But, at least in the two former cases, it has had to rely heavily on support from individual States in the region — States whose peoples can ill afford such sacrifices. The Council should consider as a matter of urgency how such regional operations can be more fairly and efficiently financed. Indeed, I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of ensuring that wherever responsibility is assigned, adequate resources are also provided to carry out that responsibility.

In the case of Sierra Leone I should like to emphasize that, as indicated in previous reports to the Council, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) will require additional resources if ECOMOG confirms its expressed intention to withdraw all its troops from the country.

Regional and subregional organizations in Africa simply do not have those resources at present. They are obliged to finance their peacekeeping activities through trust funds and, regrettably, these trust funds do not attract donations on anything like the scale needed.

The United Nations itself is not much better placed when, as is now so often the case, we are told to finance our operations through voluntary contributions. I believe the increasing resort to this practice is contrary to the spirit of the Charter, and it is also inefficient. No organization can consistently deliver quality performance if it is obliged to live from hand to mouth. It should be one of the highest priorities of the Council to find better and more efficient ways of funding peacekeeping operations.

Mr. President, you asked what additional instruments the Council can bring to bear to help solve

and, where possible, to prevent conflicts in Africa. In suggesting a few such instruments, I have in mind particularly the need for the Council to show sustained and effective interest in African conflicts, or potential conflicts, and to avoid giving the appearance of sporadic or purely rhetorical reactions to crises without any follow-up. It is vital that once the Council has taken an initiative or adopted a resolution it remains fully engaged in following up and supporting its implementation.

One way of doing this would be to use contact groups of interested members that would undertake to follow through on proposed action on specific conflicts. A start has been made with the group established for Somalia.

In some cases it may be appropriate to establish a joint working group, bringing together members of the Council, the Secretariat and the relevant regional or subregional organization. This would be especially suitable, perhaps, when there is a need to ensure that decisions such as the deployment of peacekeeping troops are implemented with a minimum of delay.

A third kind of working group that can be useful is one that brings together members that are interested in a particular aspect of conflict prevention or containment and that would accept a specific mandate to work with the Secretariat in following up some of the Council's initiatives, with a clearly defined outcome in view. The model here would be Ambassador Fowler's group, which has done excellent work tracking the economic resources that fuel certain conflicts and which is looking for ways to enforce sanctions and embargoes once the Council has decided on them. Other problems, such as the traffic in small arms, would surely merit the same approach.

Fourthly, the Council could consider holding meetings — perhaps alternately here at Headquarters and, in appropriate cases, in Africa — to establish closer and more regular contact between the members of the Council and the heads and staff of various regional and subregional organizations.

In addition to these, I believe many of the ideas that emerged from last month's debate on conflict prevention may be particularly useful in Africa — for instance, missions with clear goals undertaken by the Council itself on the model of the mission to Jakarta and Dili last September; preventive action by the Council in response to matters brought to its attention by States or by the Secretary-General, including, in some cases, preventive deployment of forces with the consent of the host country; preventive disarmament or the establishment of demilitarized zones; and the improvement of regional capacities for early warning, as well as peacekeeping.

The suggestions I have made are not dramatic. But they could, if implemented consistently over time, make a real and perceptible difference in the quality of our work for peace and security in Africa. I offer them in the practical, down-to-earth spirit in which you, Mr. President, have convened this meeting. I look forward with great interest to hearing your own comments and suggestions, as well as those of other Council members.

The President: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary-General for the practical suggestions that you made, which are very welcome indeed to achieve the action that we need in Africa, rather than simply the words and resolutions that we have all become accustomed to.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom.

How do we build a real partnership between the United Nations and Africa? First of all, we need a better partnership between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The United Nations and the OAU should not be competing, but should instead be looking for cooperation and for synergy. We need regular consultation between the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the OAU's Secretary-General and Chairman. We need more joint United Nations/OAU envoys, an idea that, of course, was floated by the Secretary-General in his Africa report. We need better coordination in New York between the Council, on the one hand, and the OAU office and the African Group, on the other; and better coordination at Addis Ababa between the OAU and representatives of the Council on the ground. I propose today that the Security Council should establish a mechanism to work with the OAU to consider how to take forward these and other practical ideas, including those suggested by the Secretary-General for improved consultation.

Secondly, we need better prevention so that African problems do not turn into conflicts, as so often, sadly, they have done. Britain would welcome periodic reporting from the Secretary-General providing early warning for the Council on situations of growing

concern and recommendations for action. We want to enhance the Security Council's capacity to monitor and assess potential trouble spots. We should consider Security Council missions to the region. We should be more ready to consider preventive deployments, and we should consider what more we can all do to help boost the OAU's own conflict-prevention capacity. Britain is already, of course, providing support to the OAU's Conflict Prevention Centre in Addis Ababa.

Thirdly, we need much better peacekeeping, and your remarks, Mr. Secretary-General, about the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone were especially welcome. We need better peacekeeping when prevention fails. Why did it take six months to get a United Nations force moving into Sierra Leone after the Peace Agreement? Why were advance preparations for a possible peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo so difficult?

This is not a criticism of the Secretary-General or the Secretariat. It is a criticism of all of us. The Secretary-General and his team must have our full political support for new peacekeeping operations, when necessary, with the right resources, money and people, to make this happen much more successfully than we have been able to do.

The Secretariat needs larger stocks of key equipment, ready for rapid deployment, and structures and processes for delivering quick, effective action.

Fourthly, we must have much better enforcement of Council decisions, including smarter sanctions. For instance, the United Nations — and by that I mean United Nations Member States — has failed to enforce agreed sanctions resolutions in Angola to stop supplies of fuel, arms and munitions to Savimbi's murderous UNITA forces. We applaud Ambassador Fowler's groundbreaking work, but he needs practical help, including intelligence and information from many Governments represented here today, including Britain's.

I have discussed with the United States, French, Belgian and Ukrainian Governments, and many African nations, the need to act now. After the recent military defeat Savimbi has suffered, now is the time to make sanctions bite. Far too many corrupt Government officials in the region are collaborating with supplies to, and diamond sales from, UNITA. Arms are coming in from Eastern Europe. It is time that those responsible were named and shamed. Let us work together to do so.

I also urge all diamond companies and trading centres to follow DeBeers' lead and refuse to take diamonds from Angola.

With decisive action now, the United Nations can end the war in Angola and promote a lasting peace. This will be a real test of the United Nations willingness to put Africa much higher on the international community's agenda, as we in Britain want it to be. That is why I shall listen keenly to today's discussions, and at the end we will draw out key points from it for the Security Council to consider as a basis for new action.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): We would like at the outset to welcome the convening of today's meeting and to thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I should like to comment briefly on the questions we are discussing today.

First, on the improvement of the relationship and coordination between the Security Council and the regional and subregional organizations, we believe that the Security Council should take more concrete action to support the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development. We support the work of all of those regional and subregional organizations.

Secondly, we believe that in considering issues involving hot spots, we could, in the relevant resolutions and presidential statements, welcome the regional organization concerned and approve or authorize it to carry out the relevant work.

Thirdly, efforts should be made to strengthen the relationship between the Security Council and the OAU. Consideration could be given to the possibility of inviting the Secretary-General of the OAU, or his representative, to give regular briefings to the Security Council.

Fourthly, following OAU summit or ministerial meetings, we could invite the Chairman for that month to brief the Council as appropriate.

The second issue I would like to comment on is how to carry out peacekeeping operations in Africa in a more timely and effective manner. First, we believe that the general principles are obvious — that is to say, we should abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and also by the three principles of neutrality, self-defence and prior consent of the parties concerned. These are the three principles that must guide us.

Secondly, we believe that, with regard to peacekeeping operations in Africa, the views of the countries concerned, the relevant regional organizations and the Secretariat should be sought beforehand. When a decision is taken, the lack of guarantees for security on the ground cannot be used as a pretext for taking a negative approach.

Thirdly, we believe that a lack of resources has gravely impeded the normal functioning of peacekeeping operations. We therefore call upon the countries that are in arrears for assessed peacekeeping contributions to pay their arrears in full in a prompt and unconditional manner.

Fourthly, with regard to the peacekeeping operations carried out in Sierra Leone, the reaction of the Security Council was not prompt. The Council was also hesitant in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All this has given rise to a great deal of suspicion about double standards. We believe that the key here is whether the necessary political will can be mustered.

The third question I would like to comment on relates to the additional instruments that the Security Council could use in order to better prevent and resolve conflicts in Africa. We believe that, generally speaking, the Security Council must find new means in order to improve its work.

First, let us recall that the Security Council dispatched a mission to East Timor last September to investigate the situation on the ground. This was well received by all of the parties concerned. We believe that the Security Council could also dispatch similar missions to the relevant regions in Africa in order to carry our a study of the situation on the ground.

Secondly, we believe that the Security Council should make increased efforts to tap the potential of existing mechanisms and resources. For instance, the sanctions Committees could play an enhanced role in this regard. The manner in which Ambassador Fowler, Chairman of the sanctions Committee on Angola, has conducted the affairs of that Committee merits our attention and consideration.

Thirdly, we believe that African conflicts have very complex causes and that efforts should therefore be made to deal with both the symptoms and root causes in a balanced manner. Following the fulfilment by peacekeeping operations of their mandates, other relevant bodies within the United Nations system should take over promptly and play their proper role in the building of peace. The Security Council should therefore further strengthen its exchanges and cooperation with other relevant United Nations bodies, such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

We believe that today's discussion is a very good beginning. There is an old Chinese saying that a journey of a thousand miles must start with the first step.

The President: I very grateful to the Ambassador of China for setting an example on brevity. I am told that my own contribution lasted 4 minutes and 55 seconds, and so came within the five-minute limit.

The next speaker is the Ambassador of the United States. As a son of Africa myself, I am delighted to say that he has just returned from Africa. Everybody who visits Africa comes back a better person, and I am sure that that applies to him, too.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States of America): I will try to follow your five-minute rule, Sir. I apologize for leaving the meeting briefly, but I believe it was necessary — indeed, essential — for me to speak in the General Assembly on the passing of President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia.

I want to praise the United Kingdom for calling this important meeting, and to say that I have just returned from a trip to Mali, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Rwanda, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Niger. I look forward to discussing issues relating to the Congo in more detail at tomorrow's meeting.

I should like to make a few brief observations in the spirit of informality which the President has so correctly imposed on us today. The number one problem that we encountered on our trip — the number one problem that Africa must deal with, among all the other problems that we are here to discuss — is the question of the spread of HIV/AIDS. I cannot stress enough how serious it is. The

Secretary-General has boldly and courageously been headlining this issue for many years. Indeed, it was Kofi Annan, personally, who asked me to take a look at this issue a long time ago. I am grateful to him for making that request.

I must say, here in the Security Council, that this is not just a health issue: it is a security issue and it is an economic issue. It is an issue that will not go away. In the past 12 months, more than 10 times as many people have died of AIDS in Africa as from all the wars in that great continent. We cannot turn away from it; it is a legitimate part of our discussions here in the Security Council.

It is the destigmatization of AIDS that needs to be dealt with most vigorously. Of the 10 countries we visited, I felt that only one — Uganda — was fully on board on destigmatization. I am told that Senegal, too, has done an excellent job. Every other country we visited acknowledged the problem and had programmes to deal with it. Indeed, President Mbeki was wearing the AIDS ribbon when I met with him. We are concerned about this issue, and I hope to address it further next month when the United States holds the presidency of the Council.

I should like to refer to the wars of Africa. I will reserve comment about the Democratic Republic of the Congo until tomorrow. On Burundi, we are delighted that President Mandela is taking over the effort. I had an extremely good talk with him on this issue, and I think he will make a real difference. On Angola, we, like Ambassador Qin Huasun, look forward to working closely with Ambassador Fowler in the sanctions Committee. For our part, the United States is going to redouble its efforts on sanctions, and we look forward to learning more from Ambassador Fowler about how the United States can better contribute to this effort.

In closing, let me say that, as the Secretary-General said, much more attention is required in the Security Council on Africa. I share his view that it should be effective. I strongly endorse the proposal made by Ambassador Qin Huasun, on behalf of the People's Republic of China, that the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity spend more time consulting the Security Council.

Finally, I should like to say a word about the American presidency next month. As we announced in a speech in Pretoria, the United States will use the opportunity provided by the American presidency next month — the first month of the new millennium — to emphasize Africa. Our tentative intention is to build on this important meeting today and on the meeting tomorrow, and to hold, particularly in the latter part of January, an intense series of public and private Security Council meetings that will focus heavily on the problems of the area — those that I have just mentioned, as well as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, an issue which I look forward to addressing further tomorrow. I hope that high-level representatives from capitals will join us for those discussions next month, and that they will involve real achievements, not just talk.

Thank you, Mr. President, for calling this important meeting.

The President: I thank the Ambassador of the United States of America, and welcome the points he made. I also congratulate his Government on the attention that it will be giving Africa during its presidency next month. I think Africa is now getting more attention, for the right reasons, than it perhaps has ever had. We need to make something of that.

Mr. Fowler (Canada): It is, indeed, a pleasure to see you here, Mr. President, participating in this important debate. The commitment of your country and Government, and your own personal commitment, to Africa, is well known and deeply appreciated around this table. On a more personal note, I should also like to thank you for your support, both moral and material, for our efforts to bring the civil war in Angola to an early conclusion through the effective application of Security Council sanctions. Your call for specific and focused action is welcome.

As you, Sir, are well aware — although some in the Chamber may not be — it is my intention, as Chairman of the Angola sanctions Committee, to submit on time, by the end of February, the report of the expert group established by the Council, and to see it presented to the Council in March or early April. I very much hope that it will contain very focused recommendations for additional action that the Council may take to do exactly as you proposed.

Canada is particularly grateful that you, Sir, have agreed to a format today that will allow the participation of non-members in this innovative discussion. The Council can only benefit by exploring fresh approaches to conducting its work, and this, indeed, is one. We very much share the concern that, while Africa absorbs a significant percentage of the Council's time, we have, in

fact, achieved rather little in terms of concrete results. Too often, for a combination of financial and political reasons, the Council has contrived to avoid a great deal of its responsibility for maintaining peace and security in Africa. The result has been a devolution of responsibility for conflict prevention, mediation and resolution to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to subregional organizations, often with little regard for their respective capacities in those areas. Even when such organizations can play an effective role, prevention efforts conducted at local or regional level frequently need the impetus that only active Council engagement can give. Our focus must therefore be on effective partnerships based on a realistic understanding of each other's relative strengths and weaknesses, an efficient division of labour and equitable burden-sharing.

Not all of the news is bad. The recent authorization of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, which received a robust mandate to protect civilians, and, eventually, to take on some of the burdens now shouldered by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was, we believe, a step in the right direction. But from our perspective, we still came up with a hybrid solution, with attendant confusion and inconsistencies inherent in the relationship between the United Nations force and the remaining ECOMOG elements. We must continue to work harder for clearer mandates and less confusion.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the involvement of the United Nations is an important signal of the Council's commitment to peace efforts there, and it should help create — or at least facilitate and build — the confidence required to underpin the eventual deployment of a reasonably sized and effective United Nations mission to oversee the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. I would certainly agree with previous speakers that we have waited too long in that regard.

Given the growing importance of the work of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on peace and security, closer cooperation is indeed needed between the Council and the OAU. Practical proposals include more frequent contacts between the Council President and the Secretary-General or Chairman of the OAU, and more regular meetings between the Council and OAU representatives in New York.

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations becomes more important upon the expiry of a Council-mandated mission, as these organizations are called on to assume the leading role in post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction. We welcome the initiatives already undertaken by the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and of the OAU aimed at increasing the level of cooperation between the two bodies, particularly regarding the exchange of information on key African issues. We are pleased to encourage the two Secretaries-General to continue their coordinating efforts, and the recommendations we have just heard from Secretary-General Annan and from you, Mr. President, are welcome in this regard; Canada looks forward to cooperating in whatever way we can to give substance and moment to those proposals.

It is important to emphasize that no amount of United Nations collaboration with regional or subregional organizations will make peace possible if the parties to an agreement do not fulfil their obligations or if they resist efforts to establish a workable peace.

Too often, the window of opportunity for international engagement closes quickly, and the chance for peace is tragically lost. We need to improve the capacity of the United Nations to plan, deploy and manage peace-support operations. When a political decision is taken to respond to a situation — not only in Africa — there must be a commensurate ability to act. Increasing that capacity includes improving the ability of the United Nations to deploy forces rapidly, something which Canada has been working hard for over six years to achieve, and without any success.

We also want to ensure that African peace-support operations are matched with appropriate mandates and resources. Failure to do this in the past has had disastrous consequences. Mandates must be sufficiently robust to give a realistic chance for mission success, and therefore they must be adequately funded and supported. Voluntary trust funds established for such purposes do not work, and I hope we will soon come to terms with that reality. They are not appropriate to the task. Multinational forces are not equitable in the burden they place on a small number of countries. Our collective experience in Sierra Leone amply demonstrates this. We have a system that works: United Nations missions funded through assessed contributions. Let us use it.

The Security Council should also consider preventive deployments in Africa. As noted in the recent presidential statement on conflict prevention, such preventive action can be more cost-effective than

measures taken in the aftermath of a conflict. The Secretary-General, of course, was remarkably eloquent in this regard in his statement to the General Assembly of 20 September 1999. The Council should give careful consideration to early warning indicators and should be prepared to act before armed conflict breaks out. We support the efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to establish a working group, and we look forward to working with it.

The challenge is not so much one of seeking new instruments, but of making existing ones work more effectively. An effective conflict-prevention and conflict-resolution strategy requires a broader definition of security and of challenges to security, one which takes into account the multiple factors that contribute to conflict and which addresses conflict in its earliest stages and manifestations. Such a definition implies our focusing our attention in the Council not only on aggression between States but also on intra-State security issues, which include gross and systematic human rights abuses, catastrophic humanitarian emergencies, failures of governance and the rule of law, and economic deprivation. In short, it means paying greater attention to threats to human security, which, as recent history shows, have been a key source of conflict in Africa.

Canada believes that rapid and resolute action to resolve and end conflicts can be an important deterrent against future conflicts. To achieve such a goal, the Council must be able to count on a United Nations that is capable of deploying effectively and rapidly. The Council must therefore explore the deterrent qualities of its available instruments. Existing sanctions must be made to work, and members will not be surprised to hear me include those against UNITA. Africans are not selling arms to UNITA, and Africans are not buying Mr. Savimbi's diamonds. However, Africans have a key role to play in making travel and representation sanctions effective.

The President: I thank Ambassador Fowler for the work he is doing on Angola. This is a critical time for making sure that sanctions against UNITA are biting and that they are effective.

Let me say also that I have just been passed a note saying that Ambassador Holbrooke spoke for 4 minutes 57 seconds. Obviously, stopwatches are becoming just as prevalent as mobile phones in the Security Council. The discipline is admirable.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank the United Kingdom delegation for organizing this discussion during its presidency of the Council.

There is no single prescription for all the crises and conflicts in Africa. But we can draw some conclusions and learn some lessons from our experiences.

First of all, as most other speakers have already said, there should be improved relations between the Security Council and regional and subregional organizations or indeed ad hoc regional initiatives. In the past, the Security Council has not always been kept adequately informed about certain regional initiatives; there is recourse to the Council only in the latter stages of dealing with a matter, leaving it insufficiently prepared to give its endorsement or to make recommendations. The chairmen or secretaries-general of organizations or ad hoc committees that are engaged in negotiations ought to meet more often with the Council, and the Council ought to invite them at key stages of a peace process in which they are engaged. This, of course, would apply first and foremost to the Chairman and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

On the other hand, States that have the resources should provide financial and logistical support to regional or subregional organizations and to ad hoc coalitions when these are engaged in a peacekeeping operation. What was done for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Sierra Leone and in Guinea-Bissau was inadequate. I fully agree with Ambassador Fowler's comment that assessed financing for peacekeeping operations is preferable to voluntary financing.

But the best way to help Africans solve their problems is, first of all, to train them for peacekeeping. That is the purpose of programmes undertaken by a number of countries, including France. And we must help them to prepare and implement those operations.

The second approach is direct United Nations action, which would answer the criticism that the Organization does too little too late. First of all, the United Nations must prepare itself to act rapidly. The United Nations should be able to consider the means to launch an operation in good time. The Security Council attempted this for the first time with the adoption of resolution 1279 (1999), on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which requests the Secretary-General

> "to take the administrative steps necessary for the equipping of up to 500 United Nations military observers with a view to facilitating future rapid United Nations deployments". (*resolution 1279 (1999), para. 9*)

For the first time, we agreed, finally, to prepare in advance. We should continue on this track. One cannot on the one hand, deplore the slowness of the United Nations response and on the other reject all innovation.

Secondly, it is obvious that we should ensure that the resources of an operation are in line with its mandate. To whittle down the format, the components or the budget of United Nations operation is the best way to ensure failure. The financial dimension must not become a constraint that determines everything else. When we are dealing with the maintenance of peace and security, the cost should be an outcome and not a determining factor, and the most enthusiastic declaration of intentions is worth nothing in the face of stinginess on the part of States.

Thirdly, the best way to resolve conflicts is obviously to try to prevent them. We had a debate two weeks ago on this subject. Preventing conflicts requires many actions that very often are not within the purview of this Council. In the political sphere, we should promote the idea of genuine power sharing, which protects the rights of minorities and thereby avoids a vicious circle of seizure of power or political or ethnic revenge. It is up to all of us, Member States, organizations and donors, to send the same message about the appropriateness of having power sharing accepted.

In the economic sphere we must maintain a meaningful level of assistance for development, along with what is being done in the area of trade. Three quarters of the least developed countries are located in Africa, and there are no miracles — they have to be helped. The requirements for official development assistance remain substantial. I would agree with what was said by the representative of the United States regarding the campaign against AIDS. But this campaign against AIDS, in terms both of prevention and of treatment, also requires assistance. It requires solidarity, meaning funds for giving treatment.

All of these recommendations will serve no purpose, obviously, if we do not apply them in concrete cases. Many crises in Africa are at a critical stage. Many of them have been on the agenda of the Council for several months, if not several years: the Great Lakes, Sierra Leone, Angola, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea and, obviously, the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Decisions in the weeks to come on all of these topics — and I would like to emphasize the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo — will show the extent of any real resonance of the words uttered today.

Mr. Petrella (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me to welcome you most warmly on behalf of the Government and the people of Argentina. I am certain that under your guidance this debate will be extremely useful for the pursuit of the objectives that have been set. We remember your words when you were with us for the open debate at the end of September. We know that you are a man who was born in Africa and who struggled for the freedom of Africa and that in your current position as Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs you will continue to pursue those objectives vigorously.

This debate should enable us to think about three specific things: first of all, cooperation between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and subregional organizations; secondly, strengthening Africa's capacity in the area of peacekeeping; and thirdly, conflict prevention.

With regard to the first point, I would say that it is essential to maintain regular dialogue between the two Secretariats, not only at the decision-making level, but also in the area of preparation for decision-making. It is not sufficient just to have an exchange of information; there must also be, above all, an exchange of the analysis of that information. There are various ways of putting this into effect: exchange of visits, exchange of participation of officials in meetings and more frequent presentations by high-ranking OAU officials in private meetings, open briefings and open meetings of the Council.

The presence of President Chiluba of Zambia last September, for example, at the open meeting of the Council on the Democratic Republic of the Congo was extremely significant. Similarly, we believe that it would be positive to have the presence of President Nelson Mandela with respect to Burundi. We should explore all possible mechanisms available under Chapter VIII of the Charter.

With respect to the second point, we believe that there are two aspects: training of peacekeepers and logistical and financial support — in other words,

resources. This is where, in our view, the greatest difficulties lie. The lack of resources is what determines, to a certain extent, the conduct, duration and the composition of peacekeeping operations. Voluntary contributions and trust funds are important, but they cannot replace the regular funding of peacekeeping operations. Only regular funding gives peacekeeping operations the necessary legitimacy, continuity and predictability. The Secretary-General has noted this on various occasions, and we have heard this from Ambassador Fowler of Canada with particular emphasis just now.

Lastly, with respect to conflict prevention, we believe that there are various instruments that the Council could keep in mind — for example, improving the early warning system. This relates to the first point also — exchange of information and analysis of information with the OAU and main subregional organizations. Another instrument is the application of sanctions, even, if necessary, when the conflict is in its early stages. We should bear in mind that the civilian population that is the primary victim of the conflict should not also be the victim of sanctions. Imposing a sanctions regime is, in itself, not enough; it must be made effective. In this regard, the practical initiatives taken by Ambassador Fowler of Canada as Chairman of the Sanctions Committee on Angola are a clear example of how to enhance the effectiveness of the sanctions regime. In our view, fact-finding missions carried out by the Secretary-General and missions of the Security Council are instruments that should be used more frequently. Lastly, the establishment of demilitarized zones as a result of fact-finding missions can also be a useful instrument.

No diplomatic instrument will be effective if we fail to understand that at the root of conflicts there are social and economic problems. We reiterate that peace and development are two sides of the same coin. The United States and France have just spoken about this. The end of the cold war created conditions conducive to economic relations. However, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, the economy is global, while politics are local. The disheartening result of the Seattle summit is an indication of resistance towards trade liberalization that takes into account the needs of developing countries. Hence the need for coordination between the Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, together with the other bodies of the system and the Bretton Woods institutions, not merely in the transition from peacekeeping to peace-building, but in the prevention stage. The experience of Haiti offers some useful lessons to be applied to African issues, even in the cases of the Central African Republic and Guinea-Bissau.

In conclusion, it is a fact that no conflict will be solved without genuine political will on the part of the leaders to find political, and not military, solutions. But it is also a fact that a clear resolve on the part of the Council is essential in order to make specific contributions to the solution of such conflicts.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina, particularly for his remarks about my own commitments on Africa.

Mr. van Walsum (Netherlands): It is good to see the British presidency devote an open Council meeting to Africa. When we planned a similar meeting for our presidency in September we were not at all sure it would be a success. After all, non-permanent members, who get to chair the Security Council once or twice in a generation, are always a bit apprehensive about what they organize. Precisely because their presidency is such a rare occurrence, the pressure to turn it into something spectacular is intense, and under those circumstances it is easy to get it wrong.

Against that background, we find it very reassuring that the two permanent members which, by virtue of the alphabet are called upon to chair the Security Council just before and just after the turn of the century have both decided to devote open meetings to Africa. Apparently we did not get it wrong when we set this trend in September. As a matter of fact, future presidencies will have some explaining to do when they do not devote an open meeting to Africa.

Some African delegations will welcome this development, but others are bound to regard it as a sham, a substitute for the effective involvement that Africa so desperately needs. Our African colleagues have not yet spoken, but my hunch is that this is what some of them would like to say, and would say if they were sufficiently straightforward. Next door, in our informal consultations, we have heard plenty of statements to that effect. I hope I am abiding by the rules you have set for this meeting, Mr. President. This is an open debate, so we may react, but we may also pre-empt.

The notorious double standard, which is supposedly practised by us, is a big problem, and I would like to make a few observations about it.

First, we agree with the French delegation that political engagement is not enough; funding remains a crucial factor. The Netherlands puts its money where its mouth is. We are spending a lot of money on Kosovo, but our total contribution to Africa has not been affected. What is going to Kosovo is new money. There has not been any diversion in the flow of Dutch funds destined for Africa.

Secondly, there is no slackening in our involvement in African projects that are of special interest to the Security Council, such as our contributions to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Sierra Leone and to the Arusha process in Burundi.

Thirdly, we feel that we cannot really be blamed for our involvement in Kosovo. The former Yugoslavia is our backyard, and our security is at stake in that part of the world. Due to globalization, however, ever more Dutchmen are beginning to see Africa as their region as well. The days when humanitarian catastrophes in Africa were faraway occurrences that did not immediately affect us are definitely over.

But those who claim that the international community stands ready to intervene in Kosovo and East Timor, while it ignores the African continent, overlook two facts. The first is that the United Nations has deployed more peacekeeping operations in Africa than in any other single region. Of the 32 operations launched between 1989 and 1998, 13 were deployed in Africa. This is probably known to most people in this room, but some may argue that these 13 peacekeeping operations cannot match the scale, speed and cost of the actions in Kosovo and East Timor. Actions of that magnitude are apparently only possible in Europe or in Asia.

We appreciate this argument, but we must point out — and this is the second point that tends to be overlooked — that Kosovo and East Timor are far from the norm for collective action in both Europe and Asia. The air strikes against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were launched without a specific Security Council mandate, and even the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries that participated in them express the hope that in future such actions can be avoided. It is hard to imagine that the parliaments in the 16 NATO countries would have given the green light for these air strikes if they had not witnessed eight years of "ethnic cleansing" at the hands of Milosevic, first in the Krajina and Eastern Slavonia, then in Bosnia and finally in Kosovo. It was a unique case of political will generated by accumulated revulsion.

The East Timor case was not typical either. After many years of stalemate, the international community had been greatly relieved that Indonesia, Portugal and the United Nations had finally negotiated a settlement. The anticlimax was all the greater when it then turned out that elements in the Indonesian armed forces did not hesitate to violate the agreement when the East Timorese seemed to opt for independence. Moreover, the 5 May Agreement was curiously flawed in that it left the responsibility for law and order with Indonesia, even in the case of a ballot in favour of independence. At any rate, the determining factor was that a neighbouring country was ready to lead the humanitarian intervention.

These constitute exceptional circumstances that facilitated the actions concerned. In other cases there may well be circumstances that make such actions more difficult. In Africa this may be a lack of central authority or inter-ethnic strife. Ethnic rivalry is an exceptionally intractable problem. Europe has its share of experience with it, too, but over the years the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has had some successes in combating it.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) took a historic decision when in 1963 it decided to accept the boundaries that African States had inherited from colonial authorities. This has left Africa with secure borders, but also with ethnically heterogeneous States. It is not for a European delegation to tell the OAU what it could do, but a logical sequel to the 1963 decision might be to help devise workable African models of multi-ethnicity. Such assistance would not be interference in the domestic affairs of its members, but an essential complement to the doctrine of inviolable borders. This would seem a legitimate suggestion in light of the fact that almost all the conflicts in Africa rage within sovereign States.

The President: The Netherlands' designation during its presidency of a day of debate on Africa was most welcome, and the United Kingdom particularly appreciated the fact that its Prime Minister took time from his busy schedule to come and chair that debate. That was a concrete sign of the Netherlands Government's commitment to addressing African problems.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): My delegation is pleased to see you, Sir, in the chair, presiding over this meeting of the Council. I would like to take this opportunity to commend the United Kingdom delegation for organizing this meeting in a very novel format.

I may have taken the advice of the United Kingdom delegation too well to heart, in that as I have not prepared any notes. I am supposed to be direct, but I may be running the risk of not being very articulate on some matters. I merely jotted down some points after listening to you, Mr. President, the Secretary-General and those of my colleagues who have spoken before me. Then I realized that this is an open meeting after all, and what one says is in a sense official. I will try, nevertheless, on the basis of my notes to contribute to the discussion.

I agree entirely with what I have heard so far in this meeting. Many of the points have been made before, but there are some new angles, which we appreciate very much. What is needed is more follow-up by us, by the Secretariat and by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

What I will do is to raise some questions, even though some may already have been raised by my colleagues who preceded me.

My first question is whether there is a sufficient or adequate flow or exchange of information between the two organizations. We have discussed this before, but I raise it again because from time to time some Council members have the notion that we, the Council, do not know exactly what Africa wants of us. There is this miscommunication.

Is the Council doing too much or too little? Are we hanging back from intervening in African affairs or are we being too intrusive? This has been asked, and the problem that arises is one of selectivity sometimes perceived by some members of the Council, particularly the African members, some Asian members and others. We may feel that, perhaps because of this miscommunication, there is this perceived lack of interest — genuine interest — in African affairs and that the Council is being selective. It intervenes in some areas, but not in others. Is it because Africa is too big, because there are too many problems in Africa — of course, funding is a problem, too — or is it because the issues have been there for so long and are unresolved?

These are some of the issues that have been raised and I think they contribute to this misperception between the Council and the OAU. I would appreciate it if some of the questions that I and other friends have raised here could be responded to by my African colleagues in particular, because what they say here has an important bearing.

As far as my delegation is concerned, we have no misunderstanding of this. We think that Africa has sent out a clear message, although some other members have felt that the message has not been too clear as to whether the United Nations is invited in or not invited to the full extent. We feel that the message has been very clear, but that what is lacking on the part of the Organization is follow-up and deep involvement.

Then, of course, there is the question of Somalia and the perception that, having had its fingers burnt some years ago, there is a shyness, a reticence, on the part of the Council to rush back into helping resolve the problem. From the perspective of Asia, we think that the time has come for the Council to re-engage in Somalia and other places in Africa, and that one can only learn from the lessons of the past. Mistakes have been made, perhaps — we learn from the mistakes. I think the United Nations Secretariat has ample documentation on lessons learned from past mistakes.

As far as Malaysia is concerned, I do not think that Africa would believe the involvement of the Security Council to be intrusive or an encroachment into what is essentially African turf. I raise this question nevertheless because sometimes, when we talk informally, these issues have been raised by some of my colleagues. I should particularly like to belabour the point about selectivity and double standards. There is a clear such perception by African countries — and I am sure they would vouch for that — and certainly from the perspective of Asia there is such an impression, or perhaps misimpression. I therefore think it is important for the Council to disabuse them of this notion that selectivity and double standards are in fact involved.

I think you, Sir, and others have mentioned the question of greater interaction between the two organizations. There have been high-level contacts, of course, between the Secretaries-General. They meet on a regular basis; they talk to each other. We have, for instance, proposed many a time that the Secretary-General of the OAU come to address our Council. I am sure Mr. Annan has addressed the OAU, but I think it would be useful for us to get Mr. Salim to come and participate in these meetings of the Council to in fact clarify some of the points that I and others have raised in the process of our debates here and also in other informal discussions that we have had.

I think it is important to have an understanding of the complementarity of functions between the two

organizations. I should like, for instance, to ask the question: When we farm out certain aspects of either peacekeeping, peacemaking or the prevention of conflicts to the OAU, is it a division of labour or is it perceived as a dereliction of our duties and an abdication of responsibility? I think these are the questions that could be discussed here and in future meetings.

I have a couple of other questions, but my time is running out. All I should like to do here is to welcome the Secretary-General's appointment of our former colleague and former Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, as his Adviser for Special Assignments in Africa. We believe that, given his long experience here, including his stint in the Council, he will contribute tremendously to this greater interaction and cooperation between the Organization and the OAU. I think it was a commendable selection by the Secretary-General and we welcome it.

The President: I would congratulate the Permanent Representative of Malaysia on his concept of the "note-less ambassador", which is an admirable novelty for the Security Council. I am sure the Secretary-General will take note of it, as he is about to leave for other important business.

Mr. Al-Dosari (Bahrain) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, may I express my pleasure at seeing you, Sir, preside over the work of the Security Council despite your very busy schedule. I should like to thank your country's delegation for its excellent choice in submitting the issue before us for open debate.

The problems, troubles and questions that plague the African continent deserve in-depth consideration. We hope that this meeting will afford us a good opportunity to exchange views on African issues and to activate the role of the United Nations in Africa.

Africans often feel themselves ignored by the United Nations; we sympathize strongly with the feelings of our brothers on that continent. We also hope that today's meeting will have a positive impact on the real situation in Africa. I should also like to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his important introductory statement.

As everyone knows, African issues constitute more than 50 per cent of the total number of items on the Security Council's agenda. In our view, this requires the allocation of greater attention to African countries and prompts us to consider ways to improve the working methods of the Security Council in particular, and the United Nations in general, in Africa. In this context, we wish to share the following thoughts and observations with other Council members and with the wider United Nations membership.

First, coordination and cooperation between the Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) must be strengthened and increased. This will require greater transparency in the Council's work. In considering African issues, it might be appropriate for the Council to invite the parties to a conflict to participate in its deliberations and for it to listen to their points of view and attempt to reconcile them. Furthermore, the participation of the Secretary-General of the OAU in some Council deliberations on Africa would also be very significant. We believe that, in the absence of such transparency in its work, it will be difficult for the Council to play an effective role in the settlement of conflicts in Africa.

Secondly, recognizing that the root causes of many African problems and issues are economic, it may be necessary to intensify consultation and cooperation between the Security Council, on the one hand, and the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations specialized agencies, on the other, in seeking radical solutions to these problems. In this context, we must recall the vast resources and wealth that are available in Africa, but which, for many reasons, are poorly and improperly exploited. The United Nations could assist in overcoming these obstacles.

Thirdly, if the Security Council were to speed up its decisions on establishing United Nations peacekeeping missions when required, and also speed up their deployment, we believe that the Council could send military observers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In this context, we could also consider the possibility of establishing a permanent trust fund with a limited budget that would cover the initial deployment of African missions, particularly in emergency situations, until the competent United Nations bodies had the opportunity to consider a budget for such missions. This would accelerate the deployment of forces and the maintenance of peace and security in the relevant country. However, the trust fund should not be an alternative to the peacekeeping budget.

Fourthly, there is a need for a continued United Nations presence in the relevant African countries in the post-conflict era in the form of high United Nations

officials, or in any other form the Council deems appropriate, in order to maintain the peace achieved through such peacekeeping missions.

In conclusion, we support the practical steps proposed by the Secretary-General and believe that if these steps were implemented effectively, they would contribute greatly to resolving the problems of the African continent and would prevent the eruption of new armed conflicts there. We hope the Security Council will take specific, practical measures to complement the Secretary-General's proposals and will formulate them in a legal framework so that there will be a binding commitment to implement them.

The President: I thank the representative of Bahrain for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Dangue Réwaka (Gabon)(*spoke in French*): Mr. President, this morning's debate attests to the concern that your country has always shown for the problems affecting Africa, as well as the Security Council's concern to enhance the quality of its interventions in crisis situations in Africa. Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, on regional agreements and arrangements, establishes the legal framework for cooperation involving the United Nations and its agencies. The areas of cooperation being considered here are those that fall within the purview of the Security Council, as they are related to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Since the adoption of the Agreement of 15 November 1965 between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was updated in October 1990 by the Secretaries-General of the two organizations, a number of other agreements have been added to strengthen that cooperation.

The diagnosis of the ills besetting Africa is familiar to all of us. What we need to seek are the solutions. We wish to pay a tribute to the United Nations Secretariat, which has spared no effort to translate its cooperation agreements with the OAU into practical action. This is attested to by the holding of various meetings between the United Nations and African regional organizations, the exchange of personnel and training programmes to facilitate African countries' participation in peacekeeping operations.

Security Council resolution 1197 (1998) of 18 September 1998 and the presidential statement issued by the Security Council as document S/PRST/1998/28 set forth specific measures that, if wisely implemented, would have a real impact on conflict prevention and conflict resolution in Africa, and would considerably enhance the level of cooperation between the United Nations and the African organizations.

Those two documents emphasize, *inter alia*, the need for the appointment of joint envoys of the OAU and the United Nations, the need to strengthen and use the United Nations Trust Fund for Improving Preparedness for Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping in Africa, the need to develop OAU early warning systems and the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution and the need to support regional organizations to help them acquire the logistics and financing necessary for peacekeeping operations.

This issue remains critical to Africa. Given the hesitation of the Security Council to commit itself quickly to help extinguish hot spots in Africa, African countries are increasingly driven to undertake many peacekeeping missions that are very costly. They need more material, financial and logistical support to effectively carry out their tasks.

The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group faced enormous difficulties in Sierra Leone due not to a shortage of troops, which were supplied by the ECOWAS countries, but to a shortage of logistics and financing.

The Security Council must end the practice of procrastination in the implementation of peacekeeping missions in Africa.

The imperatives of peace and stability should prevail over all other considerations. It would therefore be beneficial to avoid creating a gap between the signing of a peace agreement and the implementation of a peacekeeping mission so as not to allow the parties an opportunity to resume hostilities. We have in mind the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As Ambassador Holbrooke mentioned earlier, we will be having a meeting on the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo tomorrow.

We have spoken of support for the development of early warning mechanisms that the African regional and subregional organizations have established. These systems are effective means of conflict prevention provided that they are endowed with the necessary financial means and that the cooperation of all and rapid response are

ensured, particularly regarding the exchange of information on the risks of potential conflicts.

Conflict prevention also means ensuring respect for arms embargoes, mainly with regard to light weapons. A number of studies and resolutions, including Security Council resolution 1196 (1998), already exist. It would be beneficial to implement them and to act vigorously in case their provisions are violated.

Dispatching Security Council missions to Africa should be considered on a case-by-case basis. The general use of that practice could undermine the rapid response expected of the Security Council to help end these conflicts. The East Timor model cannot be indiscriminately applied in African situations.

In conclusion, what is important today is to implement already existing measures by providing the necessary resources and logistical support.

We welcome the recent appointment of Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari to assist the Secretary-General, which, as the Ambassador of Malaysia has rightly pointed out, is a good initiative that should serve to give a new impetus to our consideration of African questions.

The President: In the Ambassador of Gabon's remarks about procrastination over peacekeeping, I am sure he strikes a chord throughout Africa, speaking, as he does, on behalf of the Governments of Africa.

Mr. Jagne (Gambia): The Gambian delegation is extremely grateful to the United Kingdom delegation for reserving a slot devoted to Africa in the Council's programme of work for this month. We are also honoured to see you, Mr. President, a son of Africa, presiding over today's meeting. There could not have been a more suitable person than you to do so.

Having read some of the statements that you made recently on Africa, we are honoured to have you with us. I would like to thank Sir Jeremy for making those statements available to me. Once one starts reading them, one cannot stop; and I soon developed a voracious appetite for more.

My delegation is also grateful to the Secretary-General for leading the discussions and for his thought-provoking remarks. His landmark report, "The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa" (S/1998/318) led to the adoption of very important resolutions incorporating the issues that are being discussed today; we will come back to them later.

My delegation could not have agreed more with you, Mr. Minister, when on two occasions you stated that Africa still suffers from international policy neglect. You went on to state that Africa had been manipulated by both sides through proxy wars and client states during the cold war, at whose end both West and East virtually turned their backs.

We are heartened to note, however, that the United Kingdom, as well as the United States, following Ambassador Holbrooke's visit to Africa, will support the African renaissance. We are even more encouraged by the United Kingdom Government's renewed commitment to Africa. Here again,

> "Britain will continue to play an active role as a friend of Africa in the Security Council. And when United Nations action can stop war or build peace, we will back it to the hilt".

Now let us get down to business, starting with the question of how to improve coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the key subregional organizations, including coordination of joint activity on specific issues. As we pointed out earlier, the Secretary-General's report on the causes of conflict in Africa gave rise to the adoption of three very important resolutions and some presidential statements. The first of these was Security Council resolution 1197 (1998) of 18 September, on the strengthening of coordination between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in the area of conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace. The second was resolution 1196 (1998) of 16 September, on arms embargoes, and the third was resolution 1209 (1998) of 19 November 1998 on the illicit transfer and accumulation of small arms in Africa.

We can see from these few examples that the legal framework is already in place to improve coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the OAU. The Cooperation Agreement between the OAU and the United Nations offers many possibilities, but to be more focused one can cite the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. There are other means as well, such as through contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Improving Preparedness for Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping

in Africa — though, as colleagues have said, it is not enough to rely only on trust funds — and indeed the OAU Peace Fund, and the establishment of a Council of Elders within the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

With the establishment of a United Nations Preventive Action Liaison Office in the OAU, Security Council resolution 1197 (1998) called on the Secretary-General to consider ways and means of making the Office more effective, as well as the possibility of appointing liaison officers to peacekeeping operations of the OAU and of subregional organizations in Africa that are authorized by the Council. Another possibility is encouraging the nomination of joint special representatives. Security Council resolution 1197 (1998) also invited the Secretary-General to, among other things, adopt measures for an improved flow of information between the United Nations and the OAU and between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations. Other measures could include exchanges of staff and arranging joint expert meetings on certain specific areas of early warning and prevention.

With regard to the other issue, of how to make needs for African peacekeeping more effective and in real time, we made reference to two presidential statements, use of the United Nations Trust Fund for Improving Preparedness for Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping in Africa and encouraging contributions to the OAU Peace Fund. The Secretary-General was also requested to assist the OAU and subregional organizations to establish logistics assessment teams through encouraging joint training and simulation exercises and seminars with African peacekeepers, thus helping Africa to develop peacekeeping capacity.

Thirdly, as to what additional instruments the Council can bring to bear to help solve and, where possible, prevent conflicts in Africa, we cited the control of the flow of arms into Africa. We all know that in this area no flights would leave any airfield in your countries without your intelligence officials knowing about it. If we can share this type of information — meaning that each time a cargo plane is leaving your airfield or a vessel leaving your seaports, you would then inform your counterparts in Africa — we may not be able to eliminate it on the spot, but we are certain that in the long run, we will be able to deal a deadly blow to this traffic. We can also encourage the adoption of legislation or other legal measures making the violation of arms embargoes a criminal offence.

Mr. President, I wish to conclude by quoting again from one of your statements, this time when you addressed the "Challenges for governance in Africa" conference on 13 September 1999, in which you said,

> "Yet, common humanitarianism aside, the success of Africa is vital to Western interests. Its success could create a much safer, more environmentally sustainable world. It would reduce aid budgets and the United Nations budget. It would open up new markets and would remove havens for terrorism that will increasingly threaten the West".

The President: Thank you very much, Ambassador. After you so fulsomely praised my speeches and quoted from them, what else can I do but to fulsomely thank you and congratulate you on your excellent judgement. May I apologize also for wrongly pronouncing your name.

I would also like to commend you on your frankness and say that I very much agree with the points you made about different agencies sharing intelligence and making sure that that is available to target and track down those who are breaking United Nations sanctions illegally. In the case of Angola, that is especially relevant.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation)(*spoke in Russian*): The problems of Africa are a constant focus of attention in the United Nations Security Council, and this reflects the serious concern of the international community over the situation in the African continent.

We can hardly count on long-term harmonious development of the world if African States, which make up almost one third of the international community, continue to find themselves in a political and socio-economic "earthquake zone".

Today's Security Council meeting is a reaffirmation of the fact that we all understand the pressing need to have a coordinated strategy for maintaining peace and stability on the African continent and for settling and preventing armed conflicts there as they arise.

There can be no doubt that a key role in this matter belongs to Africans themselves. We note with satisfaction the activation of the peacekeeping efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of such subregional organizations as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). In a

number of cases, this has enabled us to achieve important positive steps in the settlement of conflicts. These efforts must be fully strengthened by the authority and capacities of the United Nations. In this connection we should talk not about replacing African efforts but about the complementarity of cooperation, coordination and assistance on the part of the United Nations in establishing African peacekeeping machinery.

One of the key components of the strategy for strengthening peace in Africa must be the promotion by the United Nations of the establishment of an effective pan-African system which is geared to both prevent and settle conflicts and also to a comprehensive solution to the task of post-conflict rehabilitation. For this we need coordinated action on the part of various bodies and agencies of the United Nations system. One of the real opportunities for establishing such work is the application of Article 65 of the Charter on cooperation between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

We support the steps by the Secretary-General to expand relations between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in preventing and settling conflicts. These steps help to activate the implementation in the African region of concrete peace initiatives including, recently, those pertaining to conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

A significant potential is available to the United Nations in the area of mobilizing international donor support for African peacekeeping. An example of this is the establishment of a trust fund for enhancing preparedness for conflict-prevention activities in Africa.

An important area in cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU in developing peacemaking potential is, we feel, the programme to exchange personnel and information and to train staff.

We propose that we should together think about how we can strengthen the role of African regional organizations — first and foremost the OAU — in peacemaking. We note the major importance of the fact that peacemaking activities for such organizations must be based in full compliance with the United Nations Charter. No enforcement measures — neither sanctions nor, even more importantly, military force — should be undertaken by regional structures without the authorization of the Security Council. In turn, the Security Council could rely more on the joint views of Africans themselves in seeking ways to solve various problems on the continent.

The holding of open meetings of the Security Council on Africa, such as today's, will help to reaffirm precisely such an approach. We are open to other forms of cooperation of the Council with interested States and organizations in order to promote finding an adequate reaction on the part of the Council to specific conflicts. The existing rules of procedure give us enough opportunities for this.

Russia approaches problems of cooperation in Africa and with Africa from a position of open-mindedness, equity and mutually advantageous partnership without being didactic, without ideological stereotypes and without national narrow-mindedness. From this standpoint we are prepared to take part in international promotion of the establishment of the peacekeeping potential of Africa, with the understanding, of course, that outside assistance in this area should be in addition to, and should not replace, steps taken by African States themselves.

The President: Thank you very much for setting an example by your succinct brevity.

Mr. Fonseca (Brazil) *(spoke in Spanish)*: I find myself in the same position as my colleague from Malaysia. I too fall into the same category of "note-less Ambassador" that you, Mr. President, have created, but I think I am a conscientious one. I would say that, after hearing so many statements, my delegation has little left to say about specific aspects of the problem that you have proposed for our consideration.

I think that the point concerning instruments that can strengthen peacekeeping operations in Africa was well addressed by my colleagues and, as Ambassador Fowler said, these instruments are known to us.

The base on which we should act is also known to us, and there are no surprises in what we have heard today. There is some consensus concerning the direction in which we should move. The fact that the instruments are known does not solve the problems of peace in Africa, and on this point I should like to make two comments.

First, reference has been made to the fact that one of the things lacking in Africa to make those instruments effective is political will. Political will is a very abstract entity which at times works almost like a magic solution

for very complex problems. We know how difficult it is to create political will. There is a history of frustration with regard to peace operations in Africa precisely because of the difficulty of building such political will.

The other problem that I wanted to touch on is the fact that though we may be familiar with the instruments, the big problem is how to adapt them to specific crises, because every crisis, every conflict in Africa has its own dynamics, its own logic, and we have to be able to calibrate the instruments to match the conflict. That, too, is a very delicate and difficult political issue.

Having made these two general comments, I wish now to touch on more specific matters that have to do with the questions that you, Mr. President, have posed.

With regard to the cooperation between the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Security Council, I believe that the questions raised by my colleague from Malaysia are also very pertinent. They are not new; we have discussed them very often. I wonder why could they not be answered and resolved in a quick and immediate fashion — something that I think is in part the fault of the Council, because our procedures are often too formal. The time, the natural forum for responding to questions such as these, a more open, more frank debate, is informal consultations, but I do not believe that the Secretary-General of an organization such as the OAU has ever been invited to such consultations. So in part it is our fault that there are difficulties in creating informal procedures to resolve this kind of question.

On the question of instruments, may I just touch on one of the instruments that we do have, namely sanctions, and I will draw on the example of sanctions against UNITA. Clearly Ambassador Fowler's work has been recognized by us all as extremely important. I think that is a curious case because even before he completed his work, we were already feeling that the effects of the sanctions had changed, that they had become more effective. I think this has a lot to do with his personality, with his leadership, with the strength that he brought to bear on this work, but it also has to do — and this is very important — with the changing political atmosphere regarding UNITA; a tendency to strip UNITA of legitimacy, not only in the eyes of Africa but also in the eyes of important actors in the Western world.

I am going to follow the example of the Ambassador of Gambia and mention you, Mr. President. You have said some weighty things about Mr. Savimbi.

(spoke in English)

> "Savimbi was the West's creature. Savimbi — the blood of hundreds of thousands of Angolans drips from his hands".

(spoke in Spanish)

These are very serious things that we didn't hear about some of those involved in the Angola problem a few years ago. This is something new that has helped create the political atmosphere that allowed the work of Ambassador Fowler to have the impact it has had.

Finally, I would like make a comment with regard to something that I believe Ambassador Petrella has mentioned and that has to do with the complex nature of the roots of African conflicts.

I was very struck by what Ambassador Holbrooke said on the question of AIDS. I think that was the first time I heard it said that AIDS could have repercussions on security. As we all know, AIDS is traditionally dealt with as an epidemiological issue. The natural forum to deal with the AIDS problem is not the Security Council, but the World Health Organization. But I think that we can admit that there is a deep truth to what he said. I do not know precisely what the relationship between the problem of AIDS and security is, but I believe we can acknowledge that it is at least something we should think about.

So what is the implication of this? The implication is very simple: in order to address the problems of conflict and crises in Africa, we need to move beyond the Security Council. I think that this is the natural and necessary conclusion to be drawn from the kind of observation made by Ambassador Holbrooke. The problem is how to do this. How can activities be coordinated, and even more than activities, how can a coordinated diagnosis be arrived at that will include not only specific political and security aspects, but also the economic, social and other aspects that have to do with health conditions in Africa.

The President: Could I say how much I appreciated the style in which you proceeded to intervene in this debate, Mr. Ambassador. This practice of a note-less ambassador is obviously catching. I appreciated in particular the way in which you related to the other points that have been made in the debate, which I think helps us move forward.

May I also say that your comments on looking at more informal procedures in the relationship between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity, and Africa in general, are very interesting. We ought to look at that more carefully.

I would just, perhaps, finally say in response that I have always found my civil servants extremely nervous when I appear note-less at meetings, because they think I might say what I actually believe.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): We commend your delegation, Mr. President, for organizing this very important meeting.

Let me also welcome back from Africa my colleague and friend, Ambassador Holbrooke. We look forward to discussing in more detail the findings of his trip.

With the Security Council at risk of gradually losing credibility in Africa, there is a need, *inter alia*, for innovation in addressing African issues. You have given us, Mr. President, three elements to discuss, and I shall address them briefly and as candidly as I can. Let me start with the question of how to meet the needs of African peacekeeping more effectively.

The members of the Security Council should separate their national interests from the needs of those affected by conflict. Peacekeeping operations in Africa should not be treated differently from those in other parts of the world. The size and mandate of peacekeeping operations should be dictated by the magnitude of the conflict, and not by geographical location. Of course, I have taken note of what my neighbour to my left said before me.

When a peacekeeping operation is anticipated, the Council should make advance preparations to that end. The Secretary-General and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations should be viewed as complementary to the work of the Council. The efforts of the Secretary-General should be supported. The Security Council and the Secretary-General are not in competition.

In addition, timely action by the Council and the international community is a must if we are serious about conflict prevention. We cannot overemphasize the importance of timely intervention in order to avoid the escalation of conflicts. This requires Council members to exercise the necessary political will — and I would like to underline necessary political will — and for all Member States to provide such intervention with the required resources, be they human, material or financial. Of course, trust funds are helpful. But we believe they should not replace regular funding.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for example, if decisive action had been taken at the beginning of the conflict, we would not be faced with the massive human suffering being experienced in that country today. Even now that it is evidently clear what the real causes of that conflict are, there is still a lot of hesitation, foot-dragging and lack of political will from some quarters. We can continue to express concern about the humanitarian situation and find excuses for inaction, but we are all aware that the situation will deteriorate further. We must find the ways to pursue our national interests. The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a test case for the Security Council. Words alone will not work; they will not help. What we should do is act — and act now.

The United Nations needs to support financially and logistically operations initiated by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In the absence of that flexibility, the situation will continue to deteriorate.

When Africa speaks to ask for help, the Security Council should listen. One of the effective ways to achieve that is through coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the OAU subregional organizations. In our view, the level of information between the United Nations and the OAU on conflict situations is not always even. Therefore, it would always be of help if the Council could benefit from direct exchanges of views with representatives of the OAU.

In this connection, we support the proposal made by the Secretary-General that the Security Council should hold a meeting in Africa at the appropriate time. This proposal should be further explored by the Council.

In addition, we know that through cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU a mechanism has been established whereby regular meetings are held between the United Nations Secretariat and the OAU, including on issues of peace and security. From the viewpoint of the OAU, can the Security Council benefit from the outcome of such discussions?

Furthermore, cooperation with subregional organizations should be enhanced. Subregional organizations need support. In this connection, we also agree with your idea, Mr. President, that the Security

Council should consider sending a mission to the region to address the problems there.

On the additional steps that the Council can take to help solve, and even prevent, conflict, let me say that, while acting within the provisions of the Charter, the Council should make use of the good offices of the Secretary-General; for example, when his special envoys are sent to visit conflict situations in potential trouble spots. In this respect, the services of eminent African personalities should be enlisted.

In the end, it is the political will that I talked about earlier, on all of our parts, which will help to put an end to conflict in Africa. We must send a clear message to rebel movements in Africa and to their supporters that we have made enough noise and that now we mean business. It is time for us to take action.

Here I agree with what you said, Mr. President, and with what Ambassador Fowler said with regard to Angola. That situation has been going on for a long time. UNITA is there and is getting support from Member States of this Organization — Member States that are supposed to ensure the full implementation of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. If there is a need, and I am sure there is, those who support UNITA must be exposed and shamed. We look forward to the report by the panels in February, and we hope that the Council will take appropriate steps in this regard.

Finally, let me thank you, Mr. President, as a fellow son of Africa, for presiding over this very important meeting. Your presence here testifies to your personal commitment and that of your country to Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind personal words.

I very much agree with the point the representative made about Member States' complicity in the continuing Angolan conflict, because Savimbi and UNITA's arms, munitions and fuel come through or over neighbouring States and from other Member States. If they did not, he would not have any supplies and the war would end.

Mr. Žbogar (Slovenia): Slovenia appreciates the leadership of the United Kingdom in the convening of this action-oriented open debate today on the United Nations partnership with Africa. We believe that the Security Council should be innovative in searching for ways to address better the responsibilities conferred on it by the Charter in this constantly changing international environment.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his analysis of the challenges which face the United Nations in Africa. His analysis and recommendations provide valuable insights and show that the problems of Africa are very much at the centre of attention and action of the Secretary-General.

The Security Council in turn has been giving much of its attention to specific situations in Africa and at the same time has tried to establish the necessary conceptual framework for its own future action. Much of that work was accomplished in the Ad Hoc Working Group of the Security Council, chaired by the Ambassador of Gabon, and the Security Council also affirmed its willingness to act at the recent 29 and 30 September open debate on the situation in Africa.

Despite all the work that has been done so far, there is no doubt that further action is necessary. It is especially important to improve inter-institutional cooperation, in particular the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the key subregional organizations, as several speakers have already mentioned.

The Security Council is consistently supporting the efforts of the OAU and the subregional organizations and is prepared to enhance the effectiveness of that support. A good example of this preparedness is the recent deployment of the United Nations peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone. This deployment is important for a number of reasons, including symbolic ones. As recently as several years ago Sierra Leone was being used as a prime example of the so-called coming anarchy in the world and as an excuse for the complacency of the international community in addressing African crises.

The current successful cooperation between the United Nations and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) therefore goes a long way in dispelling what the Secretary-General referred to as "Afro-pessimism" in his progress report on Africa.

Another area where the Security Council needs to engage in further specific action relates to sanctions. It is indicative of the tragedy of Africa that the majority of sanctions imposed by the Security Council have been directed against Member States or specific groups in Africa. We especially support efforts aimed at improving

the implementation of arms embargoes and stemming illicit arms flows to and within Africa.

In this connection, we would like to recognize the indefatigable efforts of Ambassador Robert Fowler of Canada to facilitate a political solution of the Angolan crisis by limiting the ability of UNITA to pursue the war option. We believe that Ambassador Fowler's initiatives, including the establishment of the experts' panels, provide important innovations for the Council's method of work and could be used in the work of other sanctions committees on situations in Africa.

Lastly, we would like to refer to the presidential statement on the prevention of armed conflict that the Security Council adopted just recently and which is still very fresh in our minds. Several delegations referred earlier to the need for prevention, and we would like to emphasize three elements of that statement.

First, the Security Council recognized that early warning, preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment, preventive disarmament and post-conflict peace-building are interdependent and complementary components of a comprehensive conflict-prevention strategy.

Secondly, periodic reports were requested from the Secretary-General on disputes that may endanger international peace and security, including early warnings and proposals for preventive measures.

Thirdly, the important role of regional organizations in the prevention of armed conflict was welcomed, as were the meetings between the United Nations, including the Security Council, and regional organizations.

We believe the Security Council could take a first step in the implementation of those elements of the statement in the case of Africa. We propose, for the consideration of the Security Council, to request from the Secretary-General his first periodic regional early warning report on Africa. Once it receives the report, the Security Council could engage in a dialogue with the OAU and key subregional organizations, possibly in Africa, on the substance of the report and on the recommendations contained therein. The Security Council would then subsequently have to seriously consider which of a wide range of preventive measures would best suit specific situations.

The problems of peace in Africa require constant attention. The current action-oriented open debate is an important phase in that process. The Security Council should not only be able to offer vision in addressing the underlying causes of conflict in Africa, but also demonstrate the ability to address specific crisis situations in Africa effectively.

The President: I should like to thank Security Council members for entering into the spirit of brevity that we have tried to foster and to suggest that they have provided good examples for non-Council members. I will try to expedite the introductory formalities, so non-Council members may wish to be ready to speak very quickly after their predecessor has spoken.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mesdoua (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): It is a very pleasant duty for me, Sir, to congratulate you on the unprecedented initiative you have taken today. Despite the fact that our statements have been limited to five minutes per delegation, it shows the importance that your country, and you personally, attach to Africa and its recovery.

Whenever we hold a debate on Africa, Algeria, as an African State and a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), feels compelled to express once again its frustrations vis-à-vis the Council, whose attitude has in recent months has, unfortunately, been characterized by a lack of interest — even enthusiasm — with regard to African issues, although during that same period it showed remarkable speed and great determination in deploying operations in other regions of the world.

African States therefore welcome the holding of this meeting which we hope, far from being an exercise in ritual speech-making, will respond to their concerns and expectations through the establishment of a genuine partnership that goes beyond words and good intentions. For us, that means effective cooperation and the full participation of Africa through the involvement of the chairmanship of the OAU and of the African Group, whose opinions and concerns should be taken into account.

For several years Africa has accorded priority to strengthening its ability to prevent, manage and resolve conflict, and the OAU has become fully involved in many parts of the continent, as was shown at its recent summit, held in July 1999 in Algiers. The fact that Africa has

decided to take control and fully to assume its responsibilities does not mean that the international community — the United Nations and, especially, the Security Council, which the Charter has given responsibility for maintaining international peace and security — is relieved of its obligations to Africa. This is particularly important, as the United Nations has acquired unquestionable experience and expertise in peacekeeping, and it would be regrettable if we were not able to benefit from it. That is why Africa has always called for the establishment of close and fruitful cooperation with this body.

One of the key areas where it is possible to develop a special relationship between the Council and other parts of the United Nations with regard to conflicts in Africa is that of peacekeeping, where, because of its knowledge of African problems and its experience, which has been proved in the field, the OAU is in a position to contribute to the resolution of conflicts. The Security Council, for its part, can lend its support to the efforts of both the chairmanship of the OAU and African States through subregional organizations or at the bilateral level.

From that standpoint, the proposal of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to set up a working group to strengthen the African capacity for peacekeeping was warmly welcomed by African delegations, since its objective is to support, in particular, the activity of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, to enable African countries to benefit from logistic and financial support and to develop their peacekeeping capacities. In August 1999 the African Group submitted its own proposals in this regard, and it is still awaiting a response. The establishment of such a group would, without undoubtedly contribute to the development of cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU in this essential area, and to building a genuine partnership.

We believe that for such a partnership to be viable and workable it should be based on regular and constant coordination between the Security Council, on the one hand, and on the other, the Secretary-General of the OAU, the current Chairman of the OAU and the Office of the Permanent Observer for the OAU to the United Nations, as well as the chairmanship of the African Group. The Council would then be able to obtain the views and opinions of the Organization of African Unity on the best way to deal with a given situation. My delegation supports your proposal, Mr. President, to create a mechanism to enable the Council and the OAU to work together. The United Nations liaison office at OAU headquarters, which was set up in 1998, is in the process of playing a useful and effective coordinating role. We believe that it should be further strengthened.

In the same context, preventive action by the Council should be further strengthened, as was clearly affirmed during the meeting on 29 November. In this regard, we should point out that in order to be effective, and to benefit from the necessary legitimacy, any United Nations initiative to prevent conflict on the continent should be taken in accordance with the principles of the Charter, especially that of respecting the sovereignty of States. The adherence to those principles of the protagonists and parties to a conflict is indispensable for the success of any action taken in this regard. Indeed, in such cases, as in any conflict prevention or peacekeeping operation, the consent of the State concerned and hence its cooperation are absolutely necessary. That principle also applies to all situations in which it might be necessary to provide humanitarian assistance.

We believe that the prompt reaction of the Security Council to conflict situations in the African continent is crucial. The Security Council must, in fact, be able to react rapidly and effectively to peacekeeping problems in Africa. To that end, the Council should respond to peace agreements concluded in Africa by the early deployment of observer or peacekeeping missions. That is a key element. In this regard, we recall the events surrounding the adoption of the draft resolution on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which, in the end, did not authorize the deployment recommended by the Secretary-General.

Particular attention should be given to the illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons, which feed conflict situations.

Another issue which we believe is particularly important is the problem of resources. Recent experience has shown their influence and impact on the dependability of the peace processes and on post-conflict peace-building. In this regard, the proposal to establish a special United Nations trust fund for Africa deserves close attention. Such a fund could provide regular assistance for OAU conflict-prevention activities, as well as finance programmes for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants during peacekeeping operations. Innovative means of financing could be sought, as could new ways and means to further mobilize the donor community.

Those are a few of the proposals which the chairmanship of the OAU wishes to make at this stage of the debate. We hope that, thanks to this debate, the Council will be able to contribute to the development of a genuine partnership for peace in Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words addressed to me. I believe that the role of the chairmanship of the OAU, which is currently held by Algeria, is absolutely crucial, and the constructive leadership that it can give to making this relationship better will be very valuable indeed.

The next speaker is the representative of Cameroon. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): I should like, on behalf of the African Group, to commend you, Mr. President, for taking this initiative, which is promising in more than one respect. It is taking place in the wake of the debate in the General Assembly on 8 December on the report of the Secretary-General on Africa. It is also ensuring that Africa remains at the centre of the agenda of the Security Council.

It is true that the problems of African countries have been and are being discussed in the Council but, as you said, Sir, the results have been meagre and disappointing. Today a new vision is proposed, a global vision being proposed that recognizes Africa as a partner. That is important. The initiative of holding this interactive debate has the merit of giving the Security Council credibility in the eyes of the African people, inasmuch as we hope that it will mark the beginning of the end of the double standard of which we have often complained.

Africa is the region most sorely racked by armed conflict; that much is obvious. But that is not preordained by fate. No matter what, Africa rejects such a destiny and refuses to resign itself to such a situation. For that reason, each of the large subregions of the continent has set up or is setting up mechanisms designed specifically to prevent and settle conflicts.

This meeting was convened to discuss the partnership between the United Nations and Africa, which I shall do by posing a number of questions whose answers might seem self-evident. But it is sometimes interesting and valuable to repeat the obvious. We should ask, first of all, whether such a partnership is possible. If it is possible, the next question is in what spheres it is possible and how it should be established. Then we must address the point raised by the President: whether or not we need additional instruments to bolster this partnership.

As far as we are concerned, this partnership is not only possible; it is indispensable, for a number of reasons. The first is the vastness of Africa's wealth, which arouses considerable covetousness, which in turn is often a factor in conflict. Secondly, African problems have an impact on international peace and security. And thirdly, Africa's geopolitical weight is self-evident.

If partnership is essential and indispensable, what are the ideal areas for it? We see two main areas: the establishment of sustainable development and the establishment and maintenance of lasting peace. On 8 December, the General Assembly addressed the question of the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, but here in the Council we shall confine ourselves to the maintenance of peace. That involves the prevention of conflicts and, hence, such "upstream" activities as preventive diplomacy. It also involves the settlement of conflicts by "downstream" means such as the deployment of peacekeeping operations. If they are to be effective, all relevant Security Council activities must involve Africa; they must be undertaken with Africa's consent and must be deployed with its full cooperation. Hence the need to establish this partnership.

As a partner of the United Nations, Africa is an organized continent that possesses the mechanisms to which I have referred. Central Africa has its Council of Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX); West Africa has the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and ECOWAS has recently established a diplomatic and political mechanism for conflict management, the Security and Mediation Council; in southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has an ad hoc structure responsible for peace and security; in East Africa, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development is working actively to find a solution to the conflict in the Horn of Africa. In addition to these subregional bodies, I should mention also the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

All these developments share the goal of demonstrating that Africa is a partner with the institutional capacity to respond to the provisions of Articles 52 and 53 of the United Nations Charter, which

encourage the regional settlement of conflicts. All of this is intended to stimulate joint action by these bodies and by the United Nations.

What additional instruments are needed? Essentially, we envisage two. First and foremost are financial instruments, which are vital both to strengthen the capacity of regional and subregional organizations to prevent and settle conflicts, and to support peace agreements. In other regions, the signature of a peace agreement is almost always accompanied with a financial arrangement to help in settling the problem in question. We believe that the same should hold for conflicts in Africa.

And secondly, we believe that the Security Council might begin thinking about the appointment of a coordinator for Africa to work with the Secretary-General. The coordinator would work to implement the provisions of Article 54 the Charter by providing an interface between the Secretary-General and African leaders, and would assist the Security Council and the General Assembly in carrying out the recommendations of the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. That report outlines all courses of action and defines the responsibilities of the various parties concerned with a view to helping Africa, in a spirit of partnership, to move forward. All that is needed is tireless promotion of the implementation of those recommendations.

Let me conclude by recalling the words the Secretary-General spoke in this Chamber on 29 September 1999:

> "However imperfectly, Africans have provided many important signs of their own yearning for peace, stability and development and of their willingness to work for it. The right kind of support now, carefully directed to those best able to use it, could help Africans turn a corner and set the stage for a brighter future. Let us seize this moment." (*S/PV.4049, p. 5*)

It seems to me that that is the very essence and the very purpose of a partnership between the United Nations and Africa: to enable Africa to make a fresh start.

The President: Thank you very much indeed. While I invite the representative of South Africa to take a seat at the Council table, I hope the Security Council will forgive me if I say how especially delighted I am in doing so. If anybody had suggested during those long bitter years of struggle that either Ambassador Kumalo would be speaking for his country at the United Nations or that I would be representing, at a ministerial level, the British Government, I think they would have been described as either dreamers or mad. But here we are, and I am delighted to give the floor to the Ambassador from South Africa.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): Thank you very, very much, Mr. President of this Council. Maybe it is true that we Africans are taking over; they just do not know how we are doing it. We will keep it a secret. Let me just say that when old wise women and old wise men sit down by an African tree and drink beer on a Saturday afternoon many years from now, and they look back at this century and think of the people who contributed to our struggle, I think your name will appear, though we would have loved you to be our minister.

When the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom started this idea, which is an incredible and novel idea, of communication, he said that he hoped we would come here without prepared statements and be able to engage in this interactive session. It is very difficult for me to write something for five minutes, so my remarks may be disjointed. I hope you will forgive me.

I was very struck that in one of the questions that is posed, the term "real time" was used. Now, to associate real time with the United Nations is very exciting, at the least, since it may be seldom real. What I would like to say to this meeting is very simple. I am not going to go through answering all the three questions. I am going to try to use "real time" as a guide.

There is one issue that to us, as Africans, is a fundamental test for this Council, and that is the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am very thankful that the Security Council has discussed Africa many, many times. Perhaps, now that we are at the end of the year, we need to look at all the discussions that you have had on Africa and review them to see if something concrete has come out of them. If it has, what is it? If not, how can we make it better? But we have to keep on coming to the situation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If, God forbid, the Congo were to fall apart, it would not be an African failure; it would be an international failure.

The story of the Congo is very simple. The international community said to us as Africans, get your house in order, get involved, do something. Guess what? We did. We did. On 10 July the countries of southern Africa brought together all the combatants in the

Democratic Republic of the Congo — those inside, outside and everywhere — and came up with a peace treaty.

What has the Security Council done since 10 July? What has this body done? I think that is the question that needs to be answered. Yes, we have talked about it, but to the people in the Congo, it seems as if nothing has happened. Maybe the lot that we have done has to be concretized in a way that it can be real to the people of the Congo. All we did was come up with a peace treaty, and right now it is very fragile around the edges. But it is fragile like any peace. Even Kosovo, if you had left that situation for six months as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it would have been fragile too.

I think that is why I say that this is a situation where this body has to really think hard about what it is that we can do. The Africans formed the Joint Military Commission (JMC). Those who could provide transportation, like South Africa, did. We gave helicopters and what have you. Zambia has given more than anybody in promoting this peace. Where is the international community? Or more "real", where is the Security Council?

I am glad that we are discussing this issue. I am not going to address any of the other issues that are on the table because the litmus test is the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am not saying "do in the Democratic Republic of the Congo what you did in Kosovo". I am not saying "do in the Democratic Republic of the Congo what you did in East Timor or in Sierra Leone". We are very thankful for what was done in those countries. The situation is not the same. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is different. One of every five countries in Africa is directly drawn into the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If you look at those who spend sleepless nights trying to be involved, the ratio is even less.

Let me conclude, because I said I was just going to come and make one point only. I am very pleased that we have talked all morning about working together with the Organization of African Unity. One practical thing that maybe the Security Council can do is to appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and perhaps to the United States as the host country, to look at the situation of immunities and privileges for the office of the OAU in New York. My country has given a lot of help in strengthening the offices of the OAU, whether they be on the continent or here, but I think we can use help if there could be another real look, in a practical way, at what we can do here.

So, as far as my country is concerned, the test is very simple: it is the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we are watching. We have been watching since 10 July.

The President: Can I say that I have heard some very noble suggestions in this debate, but setting up a transfer market for international ministerial changes is a noble one.

I very much agree with you that the litmus test for the Security Council is the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we will be discussing that in detail tomorrow. Exceptionally, in this debate, I would like to call on Mr. Holbrooke to make a brief response to the South African Ambassador's contribution. He is quickly making his way back to the table.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): I think I made a mistake by giving him a visa.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States): I want to praise you for your comments and I want to make one important explanation because, to a very considerable extent, we are part of the reason for this delay in the United Nations peacekeeping. I would just like to repeat to my dear friend from South Africa what I said to President Mbeki and President Mandela, President Mugabe, President Museveni and President Kabila on this issue, and to stress our country's situation.

It is true the Lusaka Agreement was signed on 10 July, and we will debate this in detail tomorrow, but it is either being ignored or violated in every significant provision. I want to reaffirm to you personally, as I did to your President, that our country will support peacekeeping. But we must get it right. Until a facilitator is chosen, until the Joint Military Commission, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations go in the direction which Ambassador Fonseca, Ambassador Qin, Ambassador Dejammet and others have stressed, toward the right relationship, we would be making a mistake which could be disastrous for the future of the United Nations and peacekeeping.

So I want to associate myself with your sentiments and explain to you — so that no one in this room thinks there is a real problem — that we will move in that direction. But we need to get it right. I speak only for the United States here, but that was the essence of the message I carried on behalf of our country to ten nations last week and which we will look forward to discussing

under the Presidency's direction in more detail tomorrow. I wanted to respond on that immediately so that there would be no misunderstanding between us and your great country and you, personally.

The President: Ambassador Kumalo, before you resume your seat do you want to respond briefly to that intervention?

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): No, Mr. President. I appreciate what I have heard.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Finland. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Rasi (Finland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia — and the associated countries Cyprus and Malta, as well as the European Free Trade Association countries members of the European Economic Area, Iceland and Liechtenstein, align themselves with this statement.

The European Union welcomes the initiative by the United Kingdom and the possibility of participating in this important debate. We hope this new format will generate new approaches and visions of how to develop further the United Nations partnership with Africa.

The report (A/52/871) of the Secretary-General, "Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa" and the progress report (A/54/133) comprise important elements and strategies for conflict prevention. The European Union has sought to develop an active, comprehensive and integrated approach towards the issue of violent conflicts in Africa, an approach based, *inter alia*, on the 1997 Common Position and the European Council conclusions on conflict prevention and resolution in Africa.

The Security Council on a number of occasions, most recently on 30 November, has affirmed its willingness to act and to explore new means of advancing the objectives of peace and security.

The Security Council should, at an early stage, actively direct its attention to areas of potential conflict, including the regular holding of forward-looking discussions, and in this regard maintain a high degree of readiness to take preventive action. The United Nations Charter provides a number of tools which can and should be used in conflict prevention. We need to build on that and further develop them. Existing methods, such as those enumerated in Article 33 of the Charter, should be strengthened and complemented. Certain preventive measures, such as the establishment of demilitarized zones or preventive disarmament, belong also to the traditional inventory of means at the disposal of the Council. Regional and subregional organizations should be consulted and their expertise used when actions are being considered by the Council.

The European Union strongly believes that in the search for a long-term solution to conflicts, especially in Africa, high priority should be given to curbing arms supplies and the illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons, as well as the use of trade in diamonds, gold and other precious materials to provide illicit finance for buying such armaments. The European Union encourages the Security Council to consider using its powers in a more decisive way to impose targeted sanctions, including arms embargoes, at the early stages of emerging crises. We also stress the importance of monitoring such embargoes after they have been imposed. In this context, the role of regional and subregional organizations, countries and even individuals cannot be underestimated.

The European Union supports the central role of the Secretary-General in preventive diplomacy, including fact-finding missions, good offices and other activities. We support the Secretary-General's efforts to improve the United Nations early-warning system and to place increased emphasis on preventive diplomacy. The Security Council also has an important role to play, and we encourage Council members to send fact-finding missions whenever possible.

We believe that the possibilities of the Secretary-General and his Secretariat are still not fully utilized. In this context, we wish to recall Article 99 of the Charter, which provides the Secretary-General with the possibility of bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. For that purpose, the European Union considers that the Secretariat's capacity needs to be enhanced to enable the Security Council to conduct regular surveys of potential conflict areas. We encourage Member States and regional organizations to increasingly share early-warning information with the United Nations.

The European Union encourages the Security Council to decide, when the situation requires it, on the timely establishment of United Nations peacekeeping missions. In this regard, the European Union is concerned by the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We support the Secretary-General's recommendations and resolution 1279 (1999) on the next steps to be taken for a rapid deployment of United Nations observers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The European Union affirms its readiness to support, in due time, a peacekeeping force to assist the parties in implementing the Lusaka Agreement.

The restoration of security and order, as well as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration into society of former combatants, are vital. Since arms and combatants move easily across borders in most conflict areas, the Security Council should try to formulate mandates in such a manner that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes can take into consideration the regional context whenever possible.

The European Union welcomes with appreciation the increased role and contributions of civil society and non-governmental organizations in conflict prevention. The Security Council could also consider how these actors and their potential might be further utilized.

Strengthening coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and subregional organizations remains key. In order to meet those goals, both organizations need to exchange information on a regular basis. Furthermore, this should not be restricted to pure information exchange. Organizations need to share analyses about future developments in various fields.

The speedy availability of trained personnel and relevant equipment is the crucial factor in peacekeeping operations. In this context, Member States should be encouraged to conclude the United Nations standby arrangements. The European Union is ready to assist in building capacity for conflict prevention in Africa, particularly through the OAU and the subregional organizations. The Security Council could explore possible ways of supporting the OAU's conflict-management centre. The European Union looks forward to the next meeting between the United Nations and regional organizations in order to share views on changing roles and capacities in the field of crisis management and conflict prevention.

One way to address conflict situations is to adopt clear benchmarks for parties to follow, including for mandate extensions of the phased deployment of peacekeeping missions. When progress is being made, the Security Council can act positively and consolidate achievements on the ground. This kind of positive engagement would create a climate conducive to further steps in the peace process.

I have tried to outline only a few points which, in our view, deserve further deliberation. However, we must not forget that the quest for peace and stability in Africa requires a long-term, comprehensive, concerted and determined approach encompassing various fields. The European Union also underlines the importance of political will in Africa and beyond. The primary responsibility for the future of Africa rests with the African nations themselves. However, through joint efforts and cooperation between the United Nations, African countries, regional and subregional organizations and other parties, important progress can be made. The European Union hopes that today's discussions and action-oriented approach will help us to turn a new page in the United Nations partnership with Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Finland for speaking on behalf of the European Union, whose presidency Finland has served with great distinction these last few months.

The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Babaa (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank you, Sir, for presiding over the work of the Security Council and for this excellent and well-timed initiative, which we hope will prompt the Security Council to give serious attention to the problems of the African continent. I must also express my appreciation to the Secretary-General for his practical proposals, which have provided a framework for this interactive debate.

The partnership between the United Nations and the international community in Africa must be an effective one based on equality, not on hegemony and exploitation. The causes of the problems of Africa are well known and documented in United Nations reports, prominent among which are those of the Secretary-General. What the continent and its peoples and countries really need is the mobilization of the material resources necessary to solve these problems.

African problems are common to all African countries. Among the most significant of these are the foreign-debt crisis, poverty, illiteracy and disease, in particular HIV/AIDS. If poverty is a consequence of war, war is also a consequence of poverty. Hence, the eradication of poverty is one of the best ways to eliminate one of the major causes of conflict in Africa. If these problems are to be solved, vast financial and human resources must be made available. Without such resources, statements about the United Nations partnership with Africa will remain empty rhetoric that cannot be implemented, regardless of any resolutions or initiatives the Council may adopt.

It has therefore become important to establish a United Nations fund for financing African development and reconstruction, and to promote effective coordination between all the various international and regional agencies, United Nations specialized agencies and financial institutions working in Africa. In this context, I wish to stress the special responsibility of the countries that colonized and exploited the continent for many decades. They are obligated to pay compensation for their lengthy exploitation of the peoples of the continent and must contribute generously to the proposed fund. We must also enable Africa to obtain fair prices for its raw materials, imported very cheaply by the industrialized countries. Africa is also entitled to have an increase in the rates of its raw materials equivalent to the price rates for imported manufactured goods.

I turn now to the role of the Security Council. The Council can play an important role in establishing stability and peace in Africa by supporting efforts and implementing resolutions agreed upon by Africans themselves in order to achieve peace, settle current conflicts and prevent their resumption. Such measures include the following:

First, it must provide political support by adopting resolutions promoting the initiatives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and subregional organizations. The Council has assumed this role but with unnecessary hesitation and caution.

Secondly, it must provide financial and human support for African peacekeeping operations, which should, in fact, be fully financed. As regional and international peacekeeping operations, they should be the responsibility of the United Nations, the Security Council in particular.

Thirdly, it must provide and finance peacekeeping training for African States so as to strengthen their capacities in that field. Such training should not be relegated to bilateral relations.

Fourthly, it must support the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, pursue consultations with the OAU on settling conflicts in Africa and support its initiatives and efforts to settle disputes, both physically and morally.

Fifthly, it must be prepared to face many risks and obstacles. The United Nations, the international community in general and donor countries should be willing to accept a minimum level of risk. The United Nations cannot wait for peace to be achieved in any given region before it participates through missions and forces. A United Nations intervention at that stage would be meaningless. Why are we still waiting for forces to be deployed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo? Is the Security Council waiting for peace to reign there before approving the deployment of United Nations forces, or for the re-emergence of conflict there?

Sixthly, in addressing African conflicts, it must employ the same means and standards it uses to settle disputes in other continents, such as Europe and Asia. Why has the United Nations allowed Somalia to burn and tear itself apart without any intervention other than the issuance of occasional statements?

It is very important to send peacekeeping operations to Africa, but the Security Council's members should occasionally go to Africa themselves and hold their meetings in proximity to the conflict regions in order to gain a clearer understanding of the various dimensions and aspects of the problems of the African continent. The peoples of Africa look up to the Council in the hope that it will now adopt decisive resolutions that eschew limited national interests and that can truly solve the continent's problems, maintain its peace and security and foster its economic development and prosperity. If the Council does so, it will help Africa emerge from its dilemma and give the best gift to the peoples of that continent: hope for the next century.

I thank you once again, Sir, for convening this meeting. The contribution of the United Nations and the Security Council to settling African conflicts and solving African problems requires a change in perceptions of Africa, an improvement in the traditional methods and the adoption of new ones.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lee See-young (Republic of Korea): Allow me to begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for your initiative of arranging today's open debate devoted to Africa, to which my Government attaches particular importance.

We wholeheartedly welcome the Council's renewed and sustained attention to the problems facing Africa, as demonstrated in its holding of a series of special sessions: one in September, another today and probably more than one next month. We also appreciate your innovative way of organizing today's discussion, by which you will doubtless lead our meeting to a fruitful conclusion.

Let me now put forward several concrete suggestions related to the subjects before us for elaboration by the Council.

First, we consider that there is an urgent need for the Council to involve itself more directly and effectively in crises situations in Africa. We all witnessed most dramatically the crucial role that the Council mission in East Timor played in reversing the dangerous situation there, enabling the Council and the parties directly concerned to work out successfully and expeditiously the arrangements so badly needed to bring the situation under control.

In our view, the Security Council might consider sending such missions more frequently to crisis areas, with the mandate of fact-finding and possibly of prevention or management of conflict situations or even of post-conflict peace-building in close collaboration with the Governments concerned, the Secretary-General and his representatives.

Secondly, the Council could also examine the possibility of setting up within the Council a special working unit, with whatever name, possibly with the following mandate: to continuously monitor and collect all relevant information, in close consultation with the countries involved, the representatives of the Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), other regional and subregional organizations and all relevant specialized agencies and United Nations organs involved in the situation; and to report to the Council, as necessary, on the conflict or potential conflict situations with assessments and recommendations.

Thirdly, I would suggest that the Council explore the possibility, as a long-term goal, of establishing a kind of regional centre for African peacekeeping operations, in cooperation with African Governments, the OAU and other organizations, with the purpose of upgrading peacekeeping capabilities in Africa. This centre might, among other things, monitor the situation within the region, detect early-warning signals of human rights violations and humanitarian crises, serve as a clearing-house for information gathering, provide professional training and help the Secretariat in making effective plans for rapid response, including logistical support planning.

Finally, there is a need to build Africa's own capacity in the area of rapid response to prevent conflicts or to contain and manage them. For these purposes, we suggest that training assistance and ongoing staff exchange programmes be further expanded and that standby arrangements also be extended to more African countries as soon as possible.

I sincerely hope that today's exchange of views and suggestions will produce substantive and practical results that ultimately will contribute to resolving many of the urgent problems facing Africa today.

The President: I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea. I might commend him on his brevity, which was also a feature of most of the speakers this morning.

The meeting was suspended at 1.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4081 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4081st Meeting

Wednesday, 15 December 1999, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Hain	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Al-Dosari
	Brazil	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Gabon	Mr. Dangue Réwaka
	Gambia	Mr. Jagne
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. van Walsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Slovenia	Mr. Žbogar
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The situation in Africa

99-86735 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was resumed at 3 p.m.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Sweden and Zambia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden) and Mr. Kasanda (Zambia) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria): First, I wish to say that what I have prepared are talking points, more or less, because of the impression we had when we were invited to this meeting.

I wish to convey the appreciation of the Nigerian delegation to you, Mr. President, for convening this first interactive session of the Security Council on Africa.

Somehow it has become the tradition to treat Africa as a disabled child deserving special attention and treatment on all issues. It is in this context that I welcome the first step of the Security Council to learn firsthand of Africa, hopefully from Africans themselves. I also acknowledge with enthusiasm, and indeed look forward to, the possibility of a continuation of this initiative during the presidency of the United States next month. I only hope that it will not end there, as informal consultations to tackle the issues that have been drawn up here today should continue.

Given the format of this meeting, I want to focus on two broad areas.

The first is cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements in conflict resolution and management. In this regard, I shall be talking from my point of experience, which is my own subregion.

The Council will recall that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) emerged as a result of initial lack of interest by members of the international community in the Liberian conflict. ECOWAS leaders rose to the challenge and successfully brokered peace in Liberia, and they are now active in ensuring that peace and stability return to Sierra Leone.

ECOMOG has thus become a veritable instrument for peacekeeping in the West Africa subregion. It has succeeded in preventing the chaos and horrendous human tragedies that characterized the early stages of the Liberian crisis. The recent United Nations decision to authorize the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) was the type of response that ECOWAS leaders requested in Liberia but was denied. UNAMSIL, therefore, is a welcome initiative. It formalizes the type of partnership that should be struck between the United Nations and a sub-regional organization such as ECOWAS. Making this partnership work for the promotion of peace and security in this region will entail, first, regular consultation between the United Nations Secretary-General and ECOWAS leaders, and, secondly, commitment of resources by donor countries to support peace-making, peacekeeping and peace-building in the subregion.

The second area is conflict prevention. Let us now focus on how to prevent conflicts on the continent. The important issue that needs to be addressed is what far-reaching measures the United Nations and the international community can take to prevent the States that have just emerged from conflict situations from relapsing into conflict. It is widely recognized that States in transition from war to peace are always in a fragile situation. While they face mammoth problems in all sectors, they lack the resources and the capacity to address these problems in a very profound manner. The question being asked is why the United Nations and the international community are not showing the same enthusiasm to support the African States concerned so that they, too, can replicate the success of countries in Europe. The international community should, therefore, demonstrate the same type of commitment to Africa, which is so manifest in the efforts to rebuild European countries, particularly in the Balkans.

The current situation in which African States are left virtually on their own to tackle these problems is unsatisfactory. A sure way of ensuring that they do not slump into crisis and conflict is for the international

community to be actively involved in the rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation efforts.

Another area on which the Security Council needs to focus attention is the type of support it can put in place to prevent fledgling democracies on our continent from sliding into conflict. This decade has witnessed the transition of many African States from single-party and military regimes into multi-party democracies. Significant as this development is, it has not brought about improvements in the living standards of our people. The economic situation of many African States is such that African leaders are not in a position to initiate programmes and projects that will bring "democratic dividends" in terms of tangible benefits to their people.

My President, President Olusegun Obasanjo, put it aptly in a statement he made some years ago, when he said that democracy cannot be sustained on an empty stomach. The international community, therefore, needs to initiate far-reaching measures to assist these fledgling democracies to sustain good governance and democratic institutions.

These measures should include, first, the cancellation of the debts of African countries. If African States were free from their debt burden, they would be able to use the resources that would have been expended in servicing debts to execute important programmes and projects that would benefit their people.

Secondly, concerted international efforts should be made urgently to move African peoples from the misery and poverty that have come to characterize their societies as a result of conflict.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

May I say from the Chair and the presidency how much we appreciate the leadership that President Obasanjo is giving to the rebuilding of Nigeria.

The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Takasu (Japan): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting to consider ways and means of strengthening the United Nations partnership with Africa.

Today I wish to make the following two points, taking into account the format and the goal of this meeting which you have proposed.

First, I must stress the need for the Security Council to respond to crises in Africa quickly and adequately. It is most important that Council members, and the permanent members in particular, conduct their work with an awareness that failure on the part of the Council to take necessary action in time will result in human suffering.

In this context, I want to touch upon the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is all too clear that if the peace process there fails it could have grave implications for the entire continent.

The Lusaka Agreement, which was concluded in July and which established a ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is a truly commendable achievement by the African States concerned. It is therefore imperative that the international community extend its full support for it. I hope that the Security Council will act quickly to despatch the 500 military observers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in order to consolidate compliance with the Lusaka Agreement by all the parties concerned, and that it will become engaged in efforts to deploy a full-fledged peacekeeping force as soon as possible. I would like to assure you, Mr. President, that Japan, which provides 20 per cent of the cost of any peacekeeping operation, would support any decision of the Council to that end.

Secondly, I stress the need to strengthen the capacity of the regional and subregional organizations to maintain stability in Africa.

The recent experiences of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in addressing conflicts clearly demonstrated that there is a consensus among African people that regional and subregional organizations have an active role to play in the field of conflict prevention and mediation. But it has also become apparent that the ability of these organizations to play such a role is hindered by a lack of administrative infrastructure and financial resources. While I am fully aware of the cooperation already under way in this field between the Secretariats of the United Nations and the OAU, I would like to propose that the Council exercise

more vigorous leadership in mobilizing the international community to strengthen the ability of regional and subregional organizations in Africa to maintain peace and stability.

In this context, I would like to inform the Council that Japan will organize an international symposium in Tokyo this coming March on the roles of subregional organizations and non-governmental organizations in conflict prevention and resolution in Africa, to which we are inviting representatives of the United Nations, the OAU, ECOWAS, SADC and IGAD, as well as various research institutions and non-governmental organizations.

There is clearly a need for stronger leadership by the Security Council in raising international awareness of crises as they erupt in Africa. It is my sincere hope that, building upon our discussion today, the Council will hereafter have the ability to respond to crises in Africa in a more timely and effective manner.

The President: I thank the representative of Japan, particularly for his brevity, which is appreciated and I am sure will be noted by other speakers.

The next speaker is the representative of the Ukraine. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): Like many other Members of the Organization, Ukraine is deeply concerned over the striking asymmetry between the great deal of attention that the Security Council devotes to African issues and the real achievements produced so far. Therefore, I would also like to express my delegation's gratitude for the commendable initiative of the United Kingdom's presidency, as well as to thank you personally, Mr. President, for inviting us to reflect on the situation and to discuss practical ways of heightening the effect the Council produces on conflict resolution in Africa.

I will limit my remarks exclusively to the questions outlined in your very helpful informal note.

Regarding your first question, it is undeniable that enhanced cooperation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and major African subregional organizations would greatly contribute to achieving the objectives of peace and security on the continent. Many practical steps have already been suggested to improve such cooperation. Some of them have been institutionalized by the General Assembly or the Security Council. New creative ideas have emerged during today's discussion.

In view of this, the members of the Council may wish to start a process aimed at systematizing the wealth of different ideas and suggestions on the matter in a single document. It is of the utmost importance that such a document contain a number of clear directives and recommendations to various entities, both within and outside the United Nations system, to initiate or expedite implementation of specific proposals intended to improve interaction between the Security Council and regional structures in Africa. The Council should also conduct periodic reviews of the implementation processes and, if necessary, make relevant corrections.

In short, the Security Council should display more leadership and creativity in both originating specific proposals in this area and exercising efficient management in their execution later on. The members of the Council may wish to think about the appropriateness of creating a special subsidiary body mandated to coordinate its relations with the OAU and subregional organizations in Africa. In this regard, we welcome your proposal, Mr. President, on establishing a special mechanism to consider different ideas for consultation between the Security Council and the OAU.

On the issue of meeting requirements for African peacekeeping, I do not expect that our suggested solutions would be really original, but perhaps their prevalence reconfirms that they really matter. In the view of my delegation, besides the need for adequate funding, which is undoubtedly a sine qua non condition for any success in peacekeeping, there are two other distinct areas deserving special collective attention.

First, it is imperative to pursue the ongoing efforts aimed at improving existing United Nations mechanisms intended for ensuring availability and rapid deployment of peacekeepers upon relevant authorization by the Security Council. In the first instance, it is related to the United Nations standby arrangements system and rapidly deployable mission headquarters. The United Nations Secretariat and Member States should continue this endeavour, placing greater emphasis on specific requirements of peacekeeping on the African continent.

The second area relates to enhancing the peacekeeping capabilities of African countries with a view to enabling them to participate more actively in peacekeeping operations within the United Nations

framework. We commend valuable initiatives, which have been taken to that end in recent years. In our view, it would be important to secure a more centralized and all-inclusive character for efforts in this sphere.

With regard, Mr. President, to your third question — seeking suggestions for additional instruments to be used by the Council in conflict resolution in Africa — the current discussion clearly demonstrates that there is no lack of imaginative thinking in this Organization. Ukraine attaches particular importance to greater use of appropriate preventive instruments in respect to Africa.

In this respect, I would like to single out just one of those instruments, namely, the Security Council missions to the region, whose value was also underscored in your own intervention, Mr. President. We would urge the Security Council to explore more deeply the entire concept of such missions. For example, it is easy to imagine that in some situations those missions could have tremendous effects if they were to be sent at the early stages of a conflict situation.

We also encourage the Council to be more assertive in strengthening the effectiveness of arms embargoes in Africa and in addressing the problem of illicit arms flows on the continent. We know, for example, that the Council's current policy in this area has been largely focused on impelling countries to establish more rigorous national export-control procedures for arms sales in order to prevent any illicit transaction. At the same time, global experience convincingly demonstrates that no matter how strong the export-control measures a sovereign State establishes, they cannot give a total guarantee against subsequent violations by third parties.

In this connection, I would like to reiterate the proposal of Ukraine to convene under the auspices of the United Nations an international meeting of experts of major arms-producing countries, with a view to elaborating effective measures to prevent the reselling of arms by end users to third parties. It would be worth recalling that this proposal was made by the Foreign Minister of Ukraine at the meeting of the Security Council held at the end of September this year.

There is also one more point that has particular pertinence to the matter at hand and cannot be avoided in our discussion. This point relates to the problem of the Council's political will to respond adequately to conflict situations in Africa, as well as its willingness to share the cost and burdens of peacemaking action in that part of the world. One would hardly disagree that such will and such willingness are today among the most desirable instruments to ensure the success of the Council's activities on the continent. For its part, as an incoming member of the Council, Ukraine is determined to work closely with all Member States of the Organization with a view to achieving the success of the United Nations partnership with Africa.

The President: Could I say that I personally very much welcome the representative of Ukraine's suggestion for an international meeting on small arms sales and arm sales in general. As we know, UNITA is the recipient of arms from many arms suppliers, especially from Eastern Europe. That suggestion is very welcome indeed.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Rwanda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mutaboba (Rwanda): It is my pleasure to see you in the Chair, Mr. President, and we appreciate your initiative to call this important debate on the situation in Africa. We are equally grateful for the lead your Government has taken in devising a new partnership with our dear continent.

I would like to make a few points about this topic. One, which is more obvious today than it was yesterday, is the need to learn more about Africa.

As we debate the complex issue of conflict prevention, we should ask ourselves several crucial questions before we analyse the crux of the matter at hand, namely, how we should prevent conflict. There is a generalized tendency to always put the cart before the horse when we deal with African issues. The easy way out when we have failed to find adequate responses to problems that arise has been to conveniently call African issues tribal or ethnic, then adopt resolutions, take decisions and go on. Ultimately, the problems resurface some days later — or months after — and the lessons to be learned are never learned, and crises go on unabated. It is this trend of putting the cart before the horse and the failure to identify the real problem in real time that culminated in what this family of nations had said "never again" to.

Many so-called international experts on Rwanda have for a long time failed to relate the history of my country to the crisis it was drawn into. For example, calling people who spoke the same language and who had

the same culture, the same religion and the same political system "tribes" or "ethnic groups" and even "different racial groups" was and still is nothing but a sign of ignorance and double standards. The Council knows very well that in the same kind of blind anthropology we could be talking of Welsh, English, Irish or Scottish tribes today. But, thank God, that is not the case; and it should not have been the case in Rwanda either.

Not addressing the issues at stake in the Democratic Republic of the Congo today and dwelling on concepts or notions of invited or non-invited guests in the business of this Council is nothing but a diversion from the real problems to be solved. But, no, I am not saying that the meetings were useless.

Previous speakers have rightly said that it is high time we got people to learn about Africa as it is today, not as it was during or before colonial times. Africa has changed and is changing. It is certainly changing for the better, and we should help and assist it to take the next steps ahead and not discourage it through silence or conveniently undocumented decisions. More visits to the continent by the members of this body — and here we are grateful for the visit made by Ambassador Holbrooke — could add knowledge and enlightenment and provide corrections which is all we need in order to take the right decisions at the right time.

We need to position real and proper experts on Africa at all levels within this Organization if we mean well and good for Africa. You will tell me that, "Yes, there are experts". But are they really experts in every sense of the word? We should avoid piling mistake upon mistake while believing that we are doing well. We should never do that. Wrong approaches stem from wrong and false expertise; they, naturally, generate wrong notions and concepts that lead to wrong policies and wrong decisions towards Africa. This should be corrected, and it is correctable.

There is a need to do research and to coordinate findings and results with the African continental organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. You cannot ignore the OAU any more, and you should not ignore it under any possible pretext. Africa has to have a say and should be assisted in doing so. The ideas we and they have, along with logistics and the resolutions of the Security Council would complement the findings I referred to earlier. This ought to be revisited so as to give a chance for proper coordination and understanding between actors in the search for common ground. The OAU and the Security Council should take the lead, as was emphasized earlier by previous speakers.

I would now like to speak about peacekeeping. Peacekeeping is a United Nations responsibility, and so it remains. Today, thanks to the large number of books, articles, eyewitness accounts, "lessons learned in Rwanda" units and so on that have emerged since 1994, we are beginning to know something about the events that led up to the genocide and how punctually and implacably it was carried out. We can measure the blindness of the international community at the time the order was given, at the very start of the killings, to withdraw the forces of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) — the peacekeeping force stationed in the country in 1994 — thereby abandoning Rwandan nationals to their own fate and to the mercy of the bloodthirsty Interahamwe militias, which are still active across the borders.

The problem is not the number of troops. The problem is the kind of mandate the Security Council gives and should give. We keep saying that we have learned our lessons after the pull-out of the peacekeeping forces that were stationed in Rwanda in 1994. We have come to learn that we actually had the full potential to halt the genocide if the Security Council had only mandated UNAMIR to do so. With just a change of mandate brought about with the flick of a pen and the adoption of a Council resolution under Chapter VII, we could have avoided the loss of more than 1 million lives. The intervention would not have required a major military operation. The killers were militarily incompetent mobs armed mostly with clubs, spears and machetes.

The Commander of UNAMIR at the time, General Dallaire — to whom we owe great respect and admiration for speaking out in due time — claimed that 5,000 men and a mandate would have been sufficient to stop the killings. To revisit the resolutions and actions taken afterwards is to understand the extent to which this body genuinely needs to be improved and to act in more thought-out manner. My delegation is glad to see such an initiative stemming from your presidency, Sir, which runs through to the year 2000 — a year we would like to see as the year for Africa.

As regards political will for timely action, and speaking from my delegation's point of view, the conflict we are witnessing today in the Democratic Republic of

the Congo is a legacy of the failure of the international community to intervene in Rwanda during the awful spring of 1994. It is not the result of non-intervention on the part of some members of the Council in 1996, as a handful of people are attempting to make the world believe today. They should have intervened then, in 1994, or soon after — not later.

They should intervene now and put the Lusaka Agreement into practice. The failure to maintain the momentum of July and August 1999 has led some actors to sing the same old tune of aggressors versus invited guests, as if this were timely and what people should be concentrating on at this stage of events. My colleague from South Africa said it better and in a more concise way.

Today's reports, which members have probably heard, say that President Masire of Botswana has finally been accepted by the two parties — the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the rebels — as their facilitator. We all know how forceful President Masire is, and we wish him well. We need to see more political will from this body in reinforcing its own decisions. We need to see sanctions committees, such as those on Angola and on Rwanda, take on their responsibilities fully and produce results, instead of the convenient status quo of silence, which sounds to some like complicity.

Let me conclude by saying that after Rwanda we had Sierra Leone, Liberia, the resurgence of the Interahamwe in the Great Lakes region, and the continuation of Somalia and other forgotten wars in Africa. We should ask ourselves questions in this respect. Why is it that this year, as tragedy unfolded in Kosovo, we referred to those who were masterminding the killings as "generals", whereas those masterminding killings in Africa are called "warlords"? Why are killings between Africans always described as tribal warfare, while killings between Europeans in the former Yugoslavia, for example, are always described as "ethnic cleansing"?

It is more imperative than ever that we all engage in some serious introspection and ask ourselves if we have truly learned our lesson. When we really come to terms with our past failures and arrive at a better understanding of the ever-changing and different social and political realities around us, only then will we be able to prevent the occurrence of future conflicts in Africa and in the world.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Many African States and their leaders sincerely believe that despite all that has been said about Africa in the Security Council and the General Assembly, these forums do not accord the same attention to Africa and its problems as they do to other international issues.

The Security Council must therefore always take action promptly when a situation arises that threatens international peace and security and requires United Nations intervention. Such action must be timely, effective and capable of achieving the Council's goals and its mandate.

Allow me in this context to touch on three points. With respect to the maintenance of peace, we do not agree with the concept of African peacekeeping, but we support the concept of United Nations peacekeeping missions in Africa. We also support the strengthening of the United Nations role in that respect as we believe in the importance of providing the financial and human resources required for these operations, in a manner commensurate with the mandates and goals determined by the Security Council.

In those cases where the Security Council establishes a peacekeeping operation in the continent to be deployed alongside an ongoing operation by a subregional organization, the cooperation between the two organizations must be based on the comparative advantages of each one, so that their activities and functions are integrated, not duplicated. Of course, the mandate granted to each organization should be clear and specific so as to achieve this goal.

In any case, activities aimed at improving or upgrading the capabilities of African countries in peacekeeping operations should not lead or contribute to placing the burden of responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in the continent of Africa on African States alone. The United Nations should shoulder its primary responsibility in this area.

On this basis, Egypt reiterates its position that establishing an African standing force to maintain peace in Africa is not feasible. The main reason for strengthening African capabilities — those of individual countries or of subregional organizations, or even those of the Organization of African Unity — must be to upgrade African capabilities so they can participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations on the African continent or beyond, particularly through what are called "standby arrangements".

Despite the fact that we welcomed the Security Council resolution establishing the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), we believe, as many speakers have already mentioned today, that the way the Council deals with the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and peacekeeping there will be the real test of the Council's credibility vis-à-vis Africa. The Council's commitment to bringing about peace and stability in the Great Lakes region will serve as the true measure of its success.

As regards strengthening coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity as well as other subregional organizations, we must first stress a key principle: the Council should deal only with those aspects of cooperation and coordination that fall within its competence and its mandate, since the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other implementing agencies and bodies have a significant and unique role in this context.

We also stress the importance of reaching an agreement on a framework for cooperation between the parties concerned and the international, regional or subregional organizations before proceeding to establish any operation, mission or task. This framework should clearly and explicitly determine the role and responsibility of each party or organization. What is more important is that each organization implement the parts that it has agreed to. For example, the United Nations, with the cooperation of the Organization of African Unity, contributed to the preparation of the Lusaka Agreement to bring about a ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Organization of African Unity, for its part, established a Joint Military Commission and appointed a mediator to conduct an internal political dialogue. We expect the United Nations to implement its part of the Agreement by establishing and sending a substantial peacekeeping mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Finally, with regard to the mechanisms for the prevention and settlement of conflicts, the Security Council might consider sending joint fact-finding missions, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, to find out what measures need to be taken to settle a conflict or to hear the points of view of the parties to a conflict or the African countries undertaking mediation efforts. More importantly, as a first step in preparation for undertaking a leading role in efforts to resolve a conflict, we believe that the Council must be more effective in coordinating African initiatives, whether national or regional. The crisis in Somalia, which has been continuing since 1991, is clear proof of the need to activate the role of the Council, rather than merely to support African efforts aimed at resolving the situation.

We should also consider establishing a permanent mechanism to coordinate the efforts of the Council and the Organization of African Unity — an idea that you, Mr. President, have put forward. This might take into account the side effects that could be caused by imposing sanctions on a State or a party in Africa as well as the ways to implement sanctions that are already in effect. Here, I must mention the positive role played by the Ambassador of Canada, Mr. Robert Fowler, in his capacity as Chairman of the Angola sanctions Committee.

In conclusion, I should like to express the deepest gratitude of my country to you, Sir, for presiding over the work of this meeting, and for the initiative that you have taken in this regard.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I should like to say how privileged I was to visit Mozambique last week with Her Majesty the Queen.

I invite the representative of Mozambique to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Santos (Mozambique): I have in front of me not a speech, but some notes. We want to start by registering our appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your initiative to hold this meeting. We believe that it is timely, and we want to congratulate you on what your country has done so far for Africa, especially in terms of poverty eradication. We believe that resolving the issue of poverty would help us solve many problems in Africa, including conflicts. We are facing complex situations, and we need innovative approaches to address them. I believe that this interactive debate will help us find them.

I would like to raise several points. First, I should like to say that Africans have the primary responsibility for conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa. This has been emphasized by African leaders, who have committed themselves to taking action in this regard. But the Security Council has primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the

world, and that includes Africa. What Africa is seeking is equal and fair treatment.

We regard coordination and cooperation as essential, and in that respect we agree with your delegation, Mr. President. We believe that such cooperation and coordination should start within the Security Council itself. We have witnessed cases in which a lack of such cooperation and coordination in the Council, when decisions were not taken in time to avert problems. We are still facing that problem in relation to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other situations.

It may be very difficult to recover from one missed opportunity. We believe that once a timely decision is taken by the Council, resources should be made available to match the magnitude of the problem. That principle has been emphasized throughout the debate this morning and this afternoon. We believe that once agreement has been reached within the Council on a particular issue, the actors within the country and within the region should be identified. It should be easy to contact them through the Permanent Representatives here in New York of the countries of the region affected.

Contacts should also be made with the leaders of the region, with the Secretary-General of the OAU and with the current Chairman of the OAU. The Chairman of the African Group for that month is also available for such contacts. I believe that both the current Chairman of the OAU and the Secretary-General of the OAU are available to come to the Security Council whenever necessary. Another approach which we think should be pursued in relation to Africa is the dispatch of Security Council missions to those areas affected by conflict. We believe that that practice would be helpful for ensuring that the decisions taken by the Council are informed.

We also believe that the opinions of the OAU and of African leaders should form the basis of decisions taken by the Council. The suggestions and recommendations that the Council will definitely have should not become conditionalities for action.

This morning Ambassador Holbrooke mentioned the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and referred to the conditions that it is important to meet if a peacekeeping mission is to go the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We agree with him, except to say that the sending of a peacekeeping mission should not be held hostage to one condition — that of choosing a facilitator. We believe that choosing a facilitator is important, but we do not believe that it should hold up the process. Fortunately, both parties are cooperating in order to find a facilitator. We believe that that is important. But we are saying that we should not impose conditions, or the process will not be able to move forward.

We agree that all instruments available to the Security Council within its mandate should be used. Innovative ways to resolve conflicts, devised in order to meet specific conditions, should also be considered. We agree with the representative of Canada, who said that existing instruments should be made more effective. I think that is the most important part. Then we can create other innovative means.

We should learn an important lesson from the sanctions imposed on UNITA; in fact, they constitute an experience that, I think, will teach us many lessons. What is being done now seems to be effective, and we thank Ambassador Fowler for the work he is doing. We should learn from it and see how effective it is. We also consider the introduction of elements of post-conflict peace-building to be important, to allow a smooth transition and bridge from a peacekeeping operation to peace-building. Here, the difficulty is that the Security Council ends the mandate, but the problem actually remains. But if we have a smooth transition, other organs of the United Nations and other agencies will be working — such as the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). And we have the United Nations Development Group, which can ensure inter-agency coordination. We therefore think that there should be cooperation and collaboration also between the Security Council and all those other organs. I think that would create conditions for nationals to address the root causes of a conflict and generate solutions from within the country.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is one subregional organization within Africa which has had good and bad experiences. It can lend its support to the work of the Security Council in resolving conflicts within the region. In the past few weeks a group of diplomats from SADC countries have been working with members of the Security Council and with other delegations on the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All those we have met so far have indicated to us that this is an important and worthwhile exercise. We believe this to be an important instrument in terms of seeking solutions to conflicts and other problems.

As the current Chairman of the SADC group, I would like to say that we will continue to work with members of the Council to follow up the conclusions of today's debate; we believe that the success of the debate will be judged by the degree of follow-up and concrete action that we are able to effect afterwards.

The President: I thank the representative of Mozambique for the kind words he addressed to me.

Let me say, simply to draw it to everybody's attention, that we have heard five speakers in the past 50 minutes, which by my arithmetic averages out to 10 minutes per speaker. At that pace we will not hear all speakers by the time I intend to adjourn the meeting, at 5.30 p.m.

The next speaker is the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kapanga (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): Today's open meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Africa — and more specifically on the partnership between the United Nations and Africa — is an initiative of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of its Permanent Representative to the United Nations. My delegation joins preceding speakers in sincerely congratulating you, Mr. President, and in thanking you for highlighting the importance of this debate by your presence.

Today's meeting is taking place just one week after the General Assembly's debate on cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), during which Ambassador Baali, Permanent Representative of Algeria and representative of the current Chairman of the OAU, ably, clearly and eloquently set forth Africa's vision of the partnership between this world Organization and the regional organization that is the pride of all Africa.

The question of cooperation between the United Nations — and more specifically the Security Council — and the OAU is a timely one, given the many hotbeds of tension that have emerged on our beloved continent since the end of the cold war. If it is to be effective, that cooperation must raise the thorny question of the in-depth reform of the United Nations decision-making system, which must be able to adapt to the challenges of the emerging new world. Here, my delegation is thinking more specifically of the inexorable advance of globalization.

Under the Charter, the Security Council is the United Nations organ responsible for collective security and bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 51 of the Charter recognizes the inherent right of States to individual or collective self-defence, although that must be seen in the context of Article 27, paragraph 3, which grants permanent members of the Security Council the right of veto, in effect institutionalizing the power to block the collective security mechanism. That has had a devastating impact on attempts to define the aggression against my country by its neighbours. It has also had a devastating impact on various initiatives to promote peace and national harmony within my country and within other African countries.

I wish on behalf of my Government to congratulate most sincerely the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, on his tireless efforts to bring peace back to my country and to see to that a United Nations mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo finally becomes a reality.

The system of collective security lost definition with the end of the cold war, and encouraged and tolerated the emergence of alliances. These diplomatic divisions or alignments with respect to open conflicts go against or even prevent the impartial functioning of collective security. Today's growth of alliances is broadly viewed as a consequence of the systematic blockage of collective security.

The way the United Nations has evolved reveals the close relationship between such alliances and the flawed functioning of the collective security mechanism. This has given rise to a diplomacy of coercion, which aims to resolve armed conflict and its uncertainties through the acceptance in agreements of conditions set by the party that proposed them. Crisis often limits one's options — especially the military option — to a choice between preexisting alternatives or plans. The resolute adversary does not generally face the same limitation, and theoretically enjoys freedom of movement.

So, in the case of the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, my country is surprised at the inconsistencies that emerged within the Security Council. We are also surprised at how slowly its resolutions and decisions were implemented owing to the action of

certain Council members that opposed them. We note with regret that those members are actually perpetuating the poverty, desolation and suffering of civilian populations, including women, children and old people.

These States members of the Council do not hesitate to push their cynicism to the point of requiring that the adversary — whom they themselves have determined is the adversary — apply respect for human rights in a discriminatory way. It is astonishing that these same Council members are the first to deny civilian populations the same rights they are claiming to protect for them. This comportment is pathetic and deplorable.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, because of this irresponsible attitude, there are about 800,000 internally displaced persons and 200,000 refugees wandering throughout our national territory waiting while the Security Council, or certain member States, lose their way in the search for some solution to this war under the threat of deadly cannons from the east.

To conclude, my delegation believes that the current challenges most characteristic of the present period of uncertainty the world is living through are the threat of nuclear war, international terrorism by small, desperate groups, the drowning of certain regions such as the Great Lakes in great masses of foreigners driven by sharp economic and population imbalances and — why not — peace being bought at the cost of tolerating major crises.

Profound reform of the United Nations is overdue. The Security Council must undergo major changes, both in its membership and the use of the veto. Article 27, paragraph 3 must be amended.

The Secretary-General must no longer simply be the chief administrative officer of this Organization. An adequate distribution of powers between the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General is necessary so that the Secretary-General, working closely with regional organizations, can define and carry out preventive diplomacy. This preventive diplomacy, in stabilizing a local conflict including by placing a military force in the situation, is the best way to prevent more widespread conflict between the major powers. This approach, namely in-depth reform of the United Nations system, is a prerequisite for this universal Organization to be able to tackle effectively the challenges of world peace and also the challenges of Africa.

My delegation assures you of its complete readiness to work with you when the time comes.

The President: I now invite Ambassador Chowdhury of Bangladesh to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): We are happy that this open meeting is taking place today to discuss the United Nations partnership with Africa and how to make it more productive. My delegation appreciates the initiative taken by the United Kingdom under its presidency of the Council for this month. And we thank you, Mr. Minister, for personally coming here and conducting our meeting. We hope that the conclusions that you will be drawing at the end of the meeting will spur future action in this area. We also thank your Permanent Representative, Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock, for very effectively running the work of the presidency for this month. My delegation is also very happy to learn that during the presidency of the United States, next month, four meetings will be devoted to the discussion of issues on Africa. We welcome this initiative.

Bangladesh is grateful to the Secretary-General for his statement this morning, which contains a number of very specific and useful suggestions. We believe that it will be appropriate for the Council to focus on some of those. Since his report last year, the Council has adopted four resolutions and statements of the President. We believe that those resolutions contain very useful recommendations and suggestions. One of the first actions that the Council can take is to follow up on those four resolutions and let us see what can be implemented. At the moment, for this debate, we will make six comments regarding possibilities of action in this area by the Council.

First, on the question of regional and subregional organizations: in this context we refer to Council resolution 1197 (1998), particularly on the aspect which relates to the establishment of an early warning system. There seems to be emerging already a good trend in the association of regional and subregional organizations by the Security Council. The co-deployment succeeded in the case of Liberia. There is cause for optimism for a similar mission in Sierra Leone. So we would strongly welcome such a trend.

Secondly, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Mechanism for the

Prevention, Management, Resolution of Conflicts, Peacekeeping and Security: this Mechanism is very significant, and we believe that the Council may associate itself directly with such a mechanism by sending special missions of its own representatives. Here we would like to recall with great satisfaction the Council mission which Ambassador Andjaba led to East Timor. I think this is a precedent worth following in the future.

Thirdly, the Council should take a more proactive role and employ all the mechanisms available under Chapter VI of the Charter — negotiation, investigation enquiry, mediation; all these are very effective ways of resolving or preempting crises and should be taken advantage of. We are very happy that President Mandela has very graciously agreed to work as the facilitator in Burundi, and we believe that this kind of instrument or mechanism could be used in other areas too, in collaboration with the OAU and ECOWAS.

Fourthly, enhancing African peacekeeping capacity is also important. I think it has been recognized as an extremely useful instrument. Particularly, we believe that the relationship could be established with the existing regional peacekeeping centres in Africa, and we would encourage such a move by the Council and by the Secretariat in the future.

Fifthly, the Council's timely response to peacekeeping needs in technical and physical terms requires building a United Nations rapid deployment capacity. We believe that this area also needs special attention.

Sixthly, my last point is the issue of children and armed conflict. The Security Council adopted a resolution a few months ago, and we believe that this is an area which needs special attention in Africa. Two comments: one, relating to the Secretary-General's proposal for curbing the arms bazaar in Africa and this problem of illicit arms flows and small arms, and Security Council resolution 1209 (1998). We believe there is a lot there to implement; particularly, the Council can support the ECOWAS moratorium on import, export and manufacturing of small arms. I think this is an area for action by the Council. We would also like to say that addressing Africa's problems requires a simultaneous, system-wide approach, and I think that is one point we should not lose sight of.

Finally, Mr. President, as you conclude our meeting and draw some conclusions, we would suggest that the presidency might tabulate all the specific suggestions and ideas that have come up during our interventions in this meeting. Perhaps this tabulation could be made available to the delegations so that we can pick and choose and see how best we can move forward on all these specific ideas and suggestions.

The President: I thank the representative of Bangladesh especially for the very practical way in which he addressed this topic. It is much appreciated.

The next speaker is the representative of India, whose great country I also had the privilege of visiting last month. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sharma (India): My delegation welcomes this interactive session on the United Nations partnership with Africa, and I am very happy to see you, Sir, presiding over it.

In September our Minister of State spoke in the Council when it last discussed Africa. We do not know to what use the Council put the views and ideas expressed at that meeting, but we hope that it will take seriously into account the views of States that are not its members. As merely symbolic gestures, such discussions will serve little purpose.

Respecting the time limit indicated by you, Sir, I wish to touch upon only some aspects of the questions you have posed.

Regarding how to improve cooperation between the Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), we feel that African countries are better placed to speak. However, as a general principle, whenever a conflict breaks out, or before it, when tensions rise, peace or calm can be restored only if the parties themselves are willing to resolve their differences. The first and paramount need, therefore, is for the countries most affected to show the political will to settle their problems peacefully.

The record in Africa is impressive. On almost every major conflict, Africans themselves have found, or are trying to reach, diplomatic solutions, as in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Ethiopia-Eritrea. Once a framework has been drawn up for a peaceful settlement, international support often becomes essential, and the role of the Security Council then becomes crucial. The Council has several roles to play: in putting its political weight behind

an agreement, in mounting peacekeeping operations and in monitoring implementation. Here, regrettably, experience has shown that Africa's efforts have often been stymied or undermined by the lack of support from the Council. The solution for this lies in the Council alone. In the name of supporting African initiatives, the Council should not abdicate its responsibilities under the Charter.

On the question of meeting more effectively the African needs for peacekeeping, we welcome international efforts to strengthen Africa's capacity for peacekeeping and are happy to note that the Secretariat has been paying greater attention to this requirement, as detailed by the Secretary-General in his reports, including A/54/63 issued in February 1999. The Secretary-General notes that peacekeeping remains a vital United Nations instrument, and he has suggested additional steps through which incremental progress may be made to enhance African peacekeeping capacities. We are encouraged that some of his recommendations are being acted upon.

As the Secretary-General has said in one of his reports, despite the successes of the international community's action in Mozambique and elsewhere, the experience of Somalia still seems to haunt some members of the Council. However, the arguments of the high cost of operations or lack of resources or risk to peacekeepers are not tenable. A tardy and insufficient response by the United Nations only serves to send wrong signals to the parties and strengthens the view that Africa is being neglected.

A large number of speakers before us have spoken about the need for expeditious action in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The South African Ambassador said earlier today that the Democratic Republic of the Congo was the litmus test. We support the call for speedy action in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The United Nations Trust Fund for Improving Preparedness for Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping in Africa, which has been used to support training activities in some countries in Africa, has received contributions from only one country. I am happy to say that this is your country, Mr. President. No further comment is needed.

On the question of additional instruments, we do not think that we need to look for new instruments to resolve conflicts in Africa. Existing instruments — if applied sincerely, impartially and in a transparent manner — are adequate. The problem has been that instruments at hand have not been used at all or have not been used well. An example of this is the fact that even though an arms embargo has been imposed against UNITA in Angola, it has no paucity of arms or other resources acquired through connivance or complicity. The Council must, therefore, pay greater attention to prompt and full implementation of its own decisions.

We have welcomed and actively participated in the Council's debates on Africa. However, the solutions to Africa's complex problems require a multidisciplinary approach with a strong economic- and social-development component. Such an approach is outside the mandate of the Council, and the nodal bodies for it are the General Assembly, the United Nations specialized agencies and the international financial institutions. While the Council must be more active on Africa, it should abjure the temptation to encroach on areas beyond its mandate.

In conclusion, let me say that India is proud of its long-standing links with Africa and its participation in almost every United Nations peacekeeping operation in the continent, starting with the complex and difficult operations in the Congo. Currently Indian troops and civilian police personnel are participating in three out of the four United Nations peacekeeping missions in Africa. Even as we discuss efforts to enhance the United Nations partnership with Africa, around 1,700 Indian peacekeepers are on their way to Sierra Leone to join the United Nations mission there. The international conference on United Nations peacekeeping, which we hosted in New Delhi in March this year, placed major emphasis on peacekeeping in Africa, with case studies undertaken on United Nations operations in Somalia, Rwanda and Angola. We made special efforts to ensure wide participation from Africa.

This, perhaps, is an area that the Council needs to look into. African States have developed expertise in peacemaking and peacekeeping which we need to draw upon. The Council and the Secretariat will find that it will repay them to listen closely to, and build upon, African experience.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Powles (New Zealand): I join others in very warmly welcoming this British initiative to hold this open debate today.

I am very conscious that there are many States with a very much stronger claim than mine to the Council's

time on this critical subject. I will therefore be very brief and approach the subject from the perspective of New Zealand's experience as a small contributor to peacekeeping efforts in Africa. Our commitments have included Angola, Somalia, Mozambique and Sierra Leone, as well as refugee relief in the Great Lakes region.

There is a widespread and understandable feeling that Africa is not getting a fair deal when it comes to the provision of United Nations peacekeeping resources. The credibility of the Council requires that it be seen as even-handed in its attention to crises, wherever they occur and whether CNN is there or not.

New Zealand is deeply concerned at the apparent trend over the past few years — to which there have been just some exceptions — away from financing peacekeeping by means of assessed contributions towards relying to far too great an extent on voluntary trust funds instead. This strikes at the collective responsibility that lies at the heart of the Charter. In practical terms it means that those regions that fail to attract donor support will not receive from the United Nations the response they are entitled to. My delegation was therefore particularly pleased to hear the clear view expressed on this by the Secretary-General just this morning.

The other side of this coin, of course, is that the parties to a dispute who have agreed on the need for a United Nations peacekeeping presence are obliged to do everything in their power to ensure the security of peacekeepers and the safety of other United Nations and associated personnel. There should, we believe, be a greater focus on prevention, especially through the Secretary-General's exercising his early-warning role, as provided for in Article 99 of the Charter.

Finally, as has been extensively reported, the root causes of much of the conflict in the region include the high level of poverty and underdevelopment and the inequalities in opportunity among different groups. The Security Council, we suggest, should make far greater use on these issues of its relationship with the Economic and Social Council, provided for in Article 65 of the Charter.

The President: The contribution of the representative of New Zealand is a model for everybody and I much appreciate it.

The next speaker is the representative of the Bahamas. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Moore (Bahamas): Let me say, as most of my colleagues have before me, how very pleased I am to see that you, Sir, have taken time to come to address this very urgent matter before us. Let me also say to the members of the Council that the idea of this open forum is indeed a welcome one and gives those of us who are interested in the stability of the world, and more particularly that of Africa, an opportunity to express our feelings.

I will be very brief. For the United Nations, there could be no higher goal, no deeper commitment, indeed no greater ambition than the preventing of armed conflict on the continent of Africa. I had the opportunity to read the report the Secretary-General presented to the Council last year and I also listened this morning to his statement and that of the Ambassador of Canada. Quite frankly, embodied in those reports and statements are solutions to the problems of Africa.

Rather than the lengthy repetition of the same things, it appears to me that there is a need for the political will not only of our member States of Africa, but indeed of the States members of the General Assembly and, more particularly, of this Council.

I listened to you this morning, Sir. You made a point of your being a son of Africa. I took that and examined it and found that this must be Africa's moment in history. Right now, today, the President of our General Assembly is a son of Africa; the Secretary-General is a son of Africa; you, Sir, are also a son of Africa; the Chairman of the parliamentary grouping of the Commonwealth is also a son of Africa; the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement is also a son of Africa; and so is the President of the Group of 77 and China. What more is needed here? It has to be the political will of this Council and, indeed, the members involved.

I read, too, the report of the African Economic Community and I know of its commitment to its Treaty and to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). We can go over the definitions and the problems as we have identified them over and over in this Chamber. What is needed now is action in Africa. We need a greater presence of the agencies of this United Nations and we need the resources to support and to implement many of the recommendations put forth in the Secretary-General's report and in the statement made by Ambassador Fowler of Canada.

I feel that this is the right moment. The interest of the world is focused on Africa. We should do all that we can, rather than talk about it again. We should use those programmes as laid out and put action behind them — put the resources of the world behind them.

I am going to be very nice by being very brief. I am going to end as I began. The political will that is needed for the correction of the problem in Africa needs to come from this Chamber. We can talk forever; we need to get the political will to act. I conclude by paraphrasing the Secretary-General: For the United Nations and its agencies, there can be no higher goal, no deeper commitment and no greater ambition than the prevention of further armed conflict on the continent of Africa.

The President: I hope that, in identifying all those sons of Africa, the representative of the Bahamas was not accusing us of reverse imperialism.

The next speaker is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kuindwa (Kenya): It is so good to see an old friend and, indeed, a son of Africa chairing this important meeting on Africa. Your association with our continent, Sir — including my own country, Kenya, where you were born — gives me great hope that your important mission for Africa on the eve of the millennium will be successful.

Allow me to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Slovenia, Ambassador Danilo Türk, who presided over the Council during the month of November, for an excellent job well done. We also thank the Secretary-General for his focused presentation this morning and we associate ourselves with the views presented by the representative of Algeria on behalf of the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and by the representative of Cameroon, the Chairman of the African Group for this month.

Allow me to make two observations and some specific other points on some issues. First, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests with the Security Council. Regional, subregional and other efforts to address peace and security can only be complementary, but the United Nations system needs to encourage those efforts.

Secondly, after our recent tenure in the Security Council, we see not only that African issues dominate the agenda of the Council, but that most have stalled because of inadequate attention. We had hoped that, by the time our tenure ended, there would be definite movement towards resolution of some of these conflicts. Instead, and sadly, most continue at the same level of intensity, while others have mutated into even more complex crises. My delegation and I therefore welcome the statements made by the representatives of the Netherlands and China regarding this situation.

As concerns the issue of improving coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the OAU, as well as key subregional organizations, including coordination of joint activities on specific issues, please allow me to make four points.

First, in our statement of 24 April 1998, before this Council, my delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's establishment of an Executive Committee on Peace and Security. We support its establishment and look forward to reports on its activities. We would also like to find out how the United Nations liaison office at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa is doing, since it was mandated to consolidate cooperation between the two organizations and facilitate the coordinated deployment of political efforts to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts in Africa.

Secondly, the annual meeting of the Secretaries-General of the OAU and the United Nations is a good mechanism that could be re-energized. It would greatly assist the Member States to know how well this structure is working.

Thirdly, we wish to propose the establishment of a mechanism that would allow for quarterly meetings in which the secretaries-general, executive secretaries and facilitators of regional organizations and initiatives, such as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the East African Community, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Burundi initiative, among others, would meet to exchange ideas and consolidate conflict resolution proposals. We agree with the Secretary-General that such meetings should take place in Africa, and we commend these views for consideration by the Council.

Fourthly, it would be important to improve liaison with the African representatives at the United Nations in

New York by, *inter alia*, holding periodic meetings between the Secretary-General and African ambassadors and strengthening the office of the Adviser for Special Assignments Africa. We are grateful that you yourself, Mr. President, alluded to this idea in your remarks this morning, and we invite the Council to consider your proposals.

With regard to additional instruments which the Council can bring to bear to help prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in Africa, I would like to suggest that the instruments currently at our disposal, if effectively implemented, would adequately address the problems we are faced with today. In our view, the primary problem has been lack of political will and the reluctance to commit resources that are commensurate with the tasks at hand. Indeed, the Secretary-General speaks on this point in his report of April 1998. In this context, I have the following few points to make.

First, the number of resolutions adopted by the Council in the last two years on Africa is very, very impressive. However, all that effort has hardly left any imprints on the ground in Africa. The Council should therefore consolidate existing follow-up mechanisms and proposals and implement the resolutions on Africa already adopted, especially those aimed at the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Enforcement action, such as sanctions, works both ways. As already pointed out, those companies purchasing diamonds in conflict areas in violation of existing sanctions must stop. In addition, the sale of illegal small arms exacerbates ongoing conflicts. We commend the ongoing activities to address this problem, and we support the position that has been already stated by several delegations regarding the sharing of intelligence information on those who are busting sanctions.

Secondly, to underline the international community's concern with the potential threat to international peace and security, we invite the Council to hold one of its meetings in Africa. This will no doubt raise the symbolic political importance the world attaches to solving peace and security problems on the continent. In African situations where people are born outside hospitals, the umbilical cord is normally buried in the ground after one is born, and we know that you, Mr. President, as one who was born in that continent, will support the initiative to have the Council consider Nairobi as a venue for such a meeting.

Thirdly, there is a need for us to intensify coordination between the General Assembly, the United Nations Development Programme and the Bretton Woods institutions to address key economic issues which constitute the core of African problems, such as the issue of poverty eradication. We should also consider the issue of the debt burden, the financing of development and the impact HIV/AIDS has had on development. Although there are many causes of conflict in Africa, the underlying and core issue that of poverty.

Fourthly, the Council should consider diversifying sources of information to facilitate timely decision-making. A more intensive use of the existing Arria formula should include inviting all parties to conflicts and affected third countries. Summaries of meetings should be made available to all United Nations Member States in order to enable them to contribute directly to decision-making in the Council.

Fifthly and finally, regional cooperation and integration mechanisms must be strengthened and supported. The examples of IGAD and ECOWAS show that there is some capacity to cope with some of these peace and security issues. In this regard, on 30 November 1999, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania signed the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. In the coming months, we shall no doubt have the opportunity to suggest ways in which the Community can strengthen its relations not only with this Organization, but also will other regional and subregional organizations.

The President: I thank the representative of Kenya for his kind words addressed to me. The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia)(*spoke in Spanish*): No member of the United Nations can possibly have failed to notice the degree of attention that the various bodies of the Organization devote to African problems. From our treatment of the problems on that continent, the international community can draw lessons regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the administration of humanitarian assistance, cooperation for development and the promotion of human rights, among many others.

I do not intend to try to answer the questions so rightly raised by the Presidents of the Council. Rather, having heard the various statements of delegations today, another urgent question must be raised: we wonder whether the United Nations is acting effectively to face

the enormous challenge of peace in Africa. We ask this not so much in terms of financial resources or of the political will to act, but rather of the management ability of the Organization, of its capacity to benefit from the strength of the various organs and programmes with a view to achieving durable peace and sustainable development in the region, as suggested by the title of the Secretary-General's report last year.

Today we are focusing on the requirements for peace in Africa from the standpoint of peacekeeping operations and partnerships for peacekeeping with regional organizations. However, as other delegations have already pointed out, including those of Argentina and Brazil, how can we expect to find lasting peace without the benefit of a favourable economic climate so that peace can become rooted in the daily life of Africans?

It seems to us that in order to make better use of the scarce resources available within the Organization to achieve peace in Africa, it is necessary to improve the coordination between and harmonize the management of the various United Nations organs, particularly of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. In this regard, we agree with the decision of the General Assembly to establish an open-ended working group to monitor the implementation of the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report, taking advantage, moreover, of the conclusions arrived at by the Economic and Social Council at its last session. That is an appropriate body to bring together the various conceptions of our Organization on the best way to manage peacekeeping efforts in Africa. That is, if we are to establish better associations or partnerships, we should begin by doing so within our own Organization.

The Security Council may not be able to respond adequately to the major challenges of the African continent without real and effective coordination with the other principal bodies within their respective spheres of competence or under their corresponding mandates. I believe that the results of United Nations action could be far better if we could create the conditions for a more efficient presence of our system in the region.

That was the question I wanted to raise, and those were the reflections that I wanted to bring to the attention of the participants in the current debate.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Sierra Leone, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Rowe (Sierre Leone): Mr. President, my delegation would like to associate itself with the commendations received by you personally, and by the United Kingdom, for initiating this interactive discussion on how to make the United Nations partnership with Africa more productive.

In our view, this meeting and its format are a contribution, albeit a small one, to strengthening the partnership of the Security Council with Africa. We believe that it adds to the objective of observing transparency in the Council's work on African issues. The format should be made a regular feature of the Council's procedure.

The unfortunate aspect of speaking towards the end of a long list of delegations is that one is left with the option of not speaking at all or of merely repeating what others have said. We heard a number of good and constructive contributions on the subject under discussion this morning.

However, I am not going to take either option, since this is an interactive discussion. Ambassador Holbrooke's immediate response this morning to Ambassador Kumalo's comments gave the meeting this interactive character. I would like to react briefly to a couple of suggestions, some mentioned parenthetically and others in some detail, and to go into more detail on them.

Allow me to take the liberty of deviating from the beaten path. I will also be frank. First, let me say that we share most of the suggestions presented this morning in the areas of conflict prevention and resolution in Africa and on what the Security Council could do as a partner for peace and security in our continent.

As regards the four points raised by the Secretary-General on the preventive aspects of the partnership, we could add that the Council should assist him in making more frequent use of quiet diplomacy in addressing some of the conflicts — or potential conflicts — in the continent. The continent itself should throw its authoritative weight behind his initiative in sending, for example, fact-finding missions to potential conflict areas; this could help to defuse many of the potential conflicts and avert a crisis.

Having said that, I wish to suggest two points under the rubric of preventive intervention. In a sense, I shall elaborate on part of what some other representatives raised this morning — for example, the Gambia — on the question of intelligence or sharing information concerning arms delivery.

We believe that the Security Council could strengthen its partnership with Africa more effectively by what I call introspection. I think, Mr. President, that you used the word "exposing" this morning, and I would like to borrow that word. By "introspection" I mean "exposing" collectively, with one voice: naming names, including those of member States, including Security Council members, which foment conflict in Africa by covert means, which fan the flames of war and destruction through the illegal transfer of arms and ammunition to African countries. Others merely acquiesce when their nationals or agents are involved in this traffic. We believe that the Council should have the courage to at least identify and expose them.

We know from experience that internal conflicts in Africa have international dimensions. We heard this morning and this afternoon about the roots of conflict in Africa — poverty, disease and so on — but we sometimes forget about the external factor, the role of State and non-State actors in fomenting conflict in our continent. There is some reluctance on the part of some of the powerful Council members to exercise vigilance and exert pressure when necessary on the merchants of death and destruction in the continent.

On a related matter, we believe that the Security Council should build on the experience of what I think the Secretary-General described this morning as the Fowler ground-breaking work. I should describe it as the "Fowler formula" in Angola, regarding the relationship between diamonds and the lack of a solution to the conflict in Angola. The same could be applied to other areas where recalcitrant actors use minerals to extend and bankroll terror and instability in the continent.

Finally, we think that the Council should strengthen its partnership with Africa in the area of conflict prevention by taking action to dissuade Member States, starting with the members of the Security Council, including the permanent members, or some of the permanent members, from supporting and arming rebel movements, movements which destabilize many democratically elected Governments in Africa. These rebel movements exploit the legitimate grievances in some of our countries of some of our people — disaffected people — by launching armed conflict as a means of achieving political power for themselves.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), for its part, has taken the bold step of discouraging military coups in the continent. This, in our view, is a preventive measure. The Security Council could supplement that by expressing in a resolution, or in a declaration, or in some form or another, its commitment to discourage Member States, especially members of the Security Council, from supporting rebel movements and the illegal supply of arms to overthrow legitimate, internationally recognized Governments in Africa. With some kind of solution to that effect in place, we believe it would help solve and, where possible, prevent conflict in Africa.

Finally, I would like to follow up on what the representative of India said about the outcome of this meeting. We do not expect any formal resolution from the proceedings, Mr. President, but you will close with a summation. We believe that your summation should be made public; it should perhaps be issued as a document or a note — your note — to the Security Council for possible action by the Council at a later date.

The President: That was a very innovative suggestion, at an innovative meeting of the Security Council, for which I am grateful.

I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Uganda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda): Speaking at the tail end of a long day, one suffers from the possibility of merely repeating what has already been said. I hope, Mr. President, you will be patient with my repetition. But first of all let me congratulate you and your delegation on having organized this interactive debate.

This is not the first time in the last 18 months that the Council has held such an open debate on Africa. Why are we here? It is not because of a lack of cooperation between the United Nations and regional bodies; not because the Organization of African Unity (OAU) mechanism has been ignored; not because there are not sufficient meetings; not because there is a shortage of special envoys to go and decipher the problems of Africa. We are here because of the continuing crisis in Africa, a

crisis of conflicts. We are here because this important body, in spite of the many debates we have held, has failed to take adequate action. We are here because there is an inadequacy of political will, and because of that inadequacy there are not sufficient resources to address the conflicts in Africa.

Meetings are very good, but what Africa needs now is action. I am reminded of the great explorer and missionary, David Livingstone, who is associated with the end of the slave trade. When he reached that part of Africa now called Malawi, he said that he was looking for a healer of Africa's bleeding soul. Africa was bleeding from the continued slave trade. Today, if Livingstone were to come back, he would say that he is looking for a healer of the African conflicts. That is why we are here.

I should like to divide my remarks into three parts. Africa needs immediate action. Immediate action means preventing conflicts, stopping the current conflicts and stopping them from spreading and escalating. Africa needs what we call in United Nations language "rapid deployment of peacekeepers". Without that, the various components of peace — not only in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, not only the Lusaka process, not only in Sierra Leone and elsewhere — still have the potential to disintegrate.

Peacekeepers separate combatants. Their presence prevents escalation; it enables fragile peace to take root. We have seen two recent examples of rapid deployment and their effects in Kosovo and in East Timor.

The Security Council did not say that the East Timorese should stop fighting before intervention. Similarly, in Kosovo the Council did not say that the combatants should honour the peace agreement before there could be United Nations intervention. We would like to see the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed in the same way.

The Ambassador of Canada was right on the ball. I, as an African, would like to hear the sweet-sounding phrase "African solutions to African problems". But the truth is that many of our regional bodies do not have the capacity to address the African problems. That is why we come here; why we seek the partnership of the United Nations; why we are calling for action.

I said that the immediate problem needs immediate attention — that is, the stopping of conflicts. But we must also have a slightly longer focus, and that longer focus must, once again, be on prevention, but prevention of an economic development nature. We must look upon development as a conflict-prevention measure. Many statements have been made here, with which I agree, that poverty is a major cause.

Another aspect of prevention is a focus on democratic governance, respect for human rights, respect for law and the creation of inclusive political mechanisms or governments. We have repeated conflicts because many communities, perhaps ethnic communities, feel discriminated against, excluded. We need partnership so that Africa can build democratic structures, structures which will make citizens of our continent feel that they have ownership, not only in the economic system, but also in the political system. We need partnership to strengthen the existing States, because States play crucial roles in preventing conflicts, while ineffective leadership is exploited by those would like to disturb the peace.

We do not have to seek intricate solutions. We know what Africa needs: what Africa needs from this Security Council and from this meeting is action.

The President: I thank the representative of Uganda for his kind words addressed to me, and endorse his call for action.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania): I shall try to be very brief. At the outset I should like to associate my delegation with all the positive statements that have been made. At this juncture I will just make a few comments and a few suggestions.

Let me start with the stark reality of Africa. Of the 48 least developed countries of the world, 33 are in Africa. I say this because there are many calls for Africa to take action, but it must be remembered that the objective conditions will determine what action Africa can take. The reality is that 33 of the 48 least developed countries are in Africa. That is point number one.

Secondly, there is a lot of emphasis on foreign direct investment. Only 1 per cent of foreign direct investment goes to Africa, and the majority of that goes to a handful of countries. That is another point that needs to be underscored.

Thirdly, Africa has the largest number of refugees. As I am speaking to the Council now, my own country has 800,000 refugees, and many more are coming in.

Finally, on the reality of Africa, aid is declining and there is much more rhetoric for helping Africa than there is substance.

Now, as to the suggestions, we are asking for action, as the representative of Uganda has said, but that action has to be focused. So I am suggesting that the Council has to have a plan to address the conflicts. Since we had the first debate on Africa — the ministerial debate under the presidency of the United States — there have been many resolutions adopted, and many more will be adopted. Where is the implementation schedule? There is a need to have an implementation schedule, an accountability; there should be reports as to what measures have been taken. We should not be satisfied with adopting resolutions and saying that this is action for Africa. This is inadequate; very, very inadequate.

The other point I would like to underscore is the commendation that has been voiced for the Fowler Committee on the good work they are doing. But the Committee and the work it is doing needs to be backed up by the Council. Without doing that, we will have the Council on one side, the Committee on the other, and Fowler at the top. That would be tragic.

Finally, Africa is listening very attentively to this debate, as it has listened to others for the last couple of years. Expectations are raised each time a debate takes place in the Council. You cannot blame the Africans.

I think that what the Council needs to do is to put its acts together so that, working with the Economic and Social Council, it could draft an economic blueprint — what I would call a Marshall Plan. Some people are allergic to this. When you talk about a Marshal Plan for Africa, they say "No, no, no". We need a Marshall Plan for Africa because, otherwise, we will just continue to have conflicts. Africans are not unique human beings. They need development like anybody else, as well as housing, food and schooling. There is need.

Your own Government, Mr. President, has taken some initiative in this regard. We need a bigger initiative, because the problems are greater. One of the fallacies about Africa is that it is seen as one country. It is a huge continent with 53 countries; but from the way in which it is reported in the media one gets the impression that Africa is a very small country. It is a huge continent.

That is my last point, Mr. President. We thank you for organizing this open debate. We hope there will be many more. But we hope also that the Council will sit down and see to what extent it can tap the reservoir of expertise and knowledge of the other non-members. I say this because the members themselves speak first when open debates are held, and then they bring us in after they have spoken and disappeared from the Council Chamber. The credibility of the Council is not very good in that respect.

The President: I am sure, Mr. Ambassador, that your last comment has been noted by us all.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Ghana. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Osei (Ghana): Ghana, like other Member States, considers this open meeting opportune, coming as it does on the eve of the millennium, and commends the Council for this initiative. It is also opportune because it enables the Council to assess the depth of the perception of many African States about selectivity by the Council in the execution of its cardinal mandate of maintaining international peace and security. Naturally, we welcome the considerable attention that the United Nations is now devoting to Africa, particularly the growing level of cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The Secretary-General's introductory statement has set the tone for this ongoing interaction, and other key issues have also been amply stated by the members of the Council and other speakers. However, I wish to revisit the following points.

The first point is on the need for regular consultations. I would like to suggest that within the framework of consultations between the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the OAU, the Council may consider quarterly review meetings between the members of the Council and the Permanent Observer Mission of the OAU that could focus on pertinent issues of the continent with the objective of reaching understanding on mechanisms, not only for tackling those problems but, indeed, for appropriate follow-up action.

Secondly, on conflict management, we believe that the role of regional groups in the containment and resolution of conflicts cannot be underestimated. Efforts by African subregional groups such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to resolve civil strife on the continent have been constrained by the lack of moral and logistical support from the international community, especially the Security Council. As we all know, peacekeeping activities by regional groups in Africa have indeed had a very terrible effect on the meagre resources and economies of the countries that have provided such formed units. My own country's active participation in subregional peacekeeping has been based on the principles of good-neighbourliness and containment.

If I may dare suggest an aside, I suspect that the principle of containment may have its source in an old Ghanaian adage that says that if your neighbour's beard is on fire the sensible thing to do is to douse it with water, lest sparks from the fire threaten your own.

The provision of resources by the United Nations within the mandate of the Council would indeed strengthen the resolve and capacity of peacekeeping forces. Thus, the consideration of such conflicts by the Council should also move in parallel to preparations by regional forces to intervene and prevent the escalation of conflicts pending their management and resolution. The representatives of contributing countries may then be invited by the Council to discuss details of the operation and determine the appropriate level of support for the ongoing peacekeeping operation. In this regard, I believe that Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as other speakers have emphasized, offer a test of the Council's commitment to dealing with peacekeeping and peacemaking in Africa, with the deployment not only of a formed unit but also with civilian police participation.

Conflict prevention has also been recognized as being less costly in terms of human and material resources than conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. Since Africa has wholly embraced democracy and good governance, the Council should come out strongly against attempts by any groups or individuals which are aimed at destabilizing democratically elected Governments. A most effective measure would be the strong imposition of sanctions on such groups, and, if possible, their supporters, where they can be identified. This should be scrupulously monitored, with the aim of penalizing countries that flout the Council's decisions. In this regard, we commend Ambassador Fowler's initiatives on Angola.

The last area of concern I would like to touch on is the proliferation of conventional weapons, notably small and light arms, since they are tools for violence and conflict in Africa. It has already been noted by a member of the Council this morning that African countries do not sell arms; neither do they buy diamonds. The Council must be seen to be actively engaged in securing international cooperation and coordination in the struggle against the accumulation, proliferation and widespread use of small arms. Support for regional and subregional efforts is therefore critical and deserving of the Council's attention.

Finally, Mr. President, let me commend the able manner in which you have conducted our proceedings so far.

The President: I thank the representative of Ghana for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Muchetwa (Zimbabwe): My delegation welcomes this interactive debate on the prevention of conflict and promotion of durable peace in Africa, and it is our fervent hope that a programme of action will emerge from today's exercise.

The causes of conflict in Africa are known to members of the Council. In the past, the Security Council has proposed measures that, when put in place, could preclude the occurrence of conflicts on the African continent. This notwithstanding, my delegation would like to zero in on the following issues raised by the President. I shall be very brief, because most of the issues have already been covered by previous speakers.

First, on improving cooperation and coordination between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the OAU should, on a regular basis and whenever necessary, send documentation through the Secretariat for the Council's consideration. Such documentation could cover early warning systems of possible hot spots in Africa and recommend what action needs to be taken in order to avert the possible resumption of conflict. In areas already in conflict, the Security Council, in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity, should expeditiously work towards a quick resolution of the conflict.

Secondly, let me turn to the question of meeting the needs for African peacekeeping more effectively. Because more than 50 per cent of the Security Council's agenda is absorbed by African issues, mostly conflicts, the Security Council should think about setting aside some kind of a fund for purposes of conflict prevention and peacekeeping. We say this because much of the reasoning behind a delay in deploying forces is funding-related. A United Nations force should be in place for rapid deployment, and the force should also be armed with the appropriate mandate and the concomitant power and logistical support.

Thirdly, let me touch on the question of additional instruments necessary to effect peacekeeping and the promotion of durable peace. These have already been fully enunciated by previous speakers, such as the need to have the political will in the Council to effect resolutions, and such as being fair in terms of the way African issues are treated in comparison to other areas of conflict.

All in all, what I am trying to say here, at the risk of repeating myself, is that there must be that political will, and that Council members must cease highlighting national interests at the expense of international peace and security. We believe that the instruments are already at hand within the Council. It is up to the Council to have the necessary will and the necessary guts to cease doing this and make sure that peace and tranquillity prevail in Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Burundi. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nteturuye (Burundi) (*spoke in French*): I welcome the British presidency's initiative of convening this open debate, which is clearly of interest to everyone and offers them the opportunity to speak about the situation in Africa and the best way of achieving cooperation among the various actors in Africa.

Why does the United Nations find it difficult to act quickly and effectively in the area of conflict prevention and resolution in Africa? No doubt this is primarily because of procrastination, which itself results from ignorance about Africa or a lack of credible information about situations. Sometimes the reason is too much conflicting information, because there are so many different parties involved. A wait-and-see attitude can also hinder the prevention or resolution of an African conflict. That attitude often springs from the existence of one or more actors that also wish to take action, as in the case of competition with another country or within a region. All of this leads to a vicious circle and a worsening of the situation, which makes conflict inevitable.

The second cause of difficulties is the lack of interest among certain members of the Council about the situation in Africa. There has been a lot of talk about double standards, as if the goal of saving human lives, regardless of nationality or place of origin, is less noble than the objective of protecting one's own interests. We understand that some prefer to act only when their own interests are threatened.

The third category relates to errors in assessing the situation in Africa. There is a desire to generalize or resort to stereotypes instead of gaining an in-depth understanding of the specifics — the nature of the problem, the historical roots, the culture of Africa. Often, therefore, the focus is on the political dimension — or, since this is Africa, on the ethnic dimension — even though, in some situations, economic or social factors are dominant.

What, then, can be done? The idea of partnership is an excellent one. It must be applied in a way that leads to coordinated and wise action. The partnership between the United Nations and Africa must be built on certain foundations.

The first of these is collaboration with the States. First and foremost, States must be consulted, whether or not they are democratic, and whether or not they respect human rights. Coercive action must be taken only when all efforts at consultation have been exhausted. We must avoid the tendency to teach lessons.

Secondly, in the case of internal conflicts, we must take the time to help Africans to move beyond the psychological barriers and the burden of their past. For example, the Great Lakes region has been hit with recurrent violence and genocide, and we must approach the situation with great care. The delicate nature of situations of internal conflict requires that great importance be accorded to discreet diplomacy, without overlooking the resident representatives of the United Nations, special envoys, mediators, investigative missions and good office missions.

Thirdly, there must be cooperation with the recognized regional mechanisms. In this context, a

somewhat contradictory situation is prevailing. The region wants to play the primary role — and it is encouraged to do so — up until the point at which it decides for itself how other international actors can take part. That is the best approach to take if all the regional players are acting in good faith. However, the United Nations, acting through the Security Council, must remain vigilant. If we want to resort to the partnership between the United Nations, the OAU and the regions, we must do so from the ground upwards; otherwise we might find ourselves violating the Charter and international law.

The Security Council must endorse all major interventions - only the Council has this mandate - such as sending a regional peacekeeping force or imposing economic sanctions. Otherwise, it will have to take later and more difficult corrective action.

Fourthly, we must pay more attention to economic and development issues in resolving conflicts in Africa. Here, the role played by the Bretton Woods institutions, the United Nations Development Programme and other United Nations agencies and funds is important. Often, regional or international solutions can make situations worse by freezing aid or imposing economic sanctions on a country that is already in difficulties, a country which is poor, land-locked and lacking resources. Imposing sanctions and freezing aid can have a disastrous impact on the population and not on the Government. Rather, durable solutions should be advocated, such as viable economic integration.

Fifthly, the working methods of the Security Council must be adapted accordingly. Open debates such as this should be encouraged, as they enhance transparency and provide for mutual enrichment. Informal consultations must be organized in New York between the representatives of various interested parties. Africa should have permanent representation in the Security Council so that its voice can be heard more clearly, and so that African problems can be better understood.

Finally, we hope that this great exercise of reflection on the part of the Security Council on the best way to contribute to conflict resolution and prevention in Africa will lead to concrete, concerted measures which strengthen both partnership and mutual respect.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kasanda (Zambia): My delegation joins with previous speakers in thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. Fortunately, what started as an experiment under the Dutch presidency is now developing into what could become a tangible practice, which we hope will be part of the Council's culture of business.

My delegation listened with great interest to the contributions on the subject before us by many delegations this morning and this afternoon. We welcome the frank admissions that the Council has been hesitant and sometimes unwilling to take effective and timely action relative to conflict situations in Africa. We welcome the apparent new commitment on the part of Council members to afford Africa and its problems the priority attention they deserve. The Council must banish the shadow of Somalia, which led to such a negative reaction to the Rwandan tragedy and which has continued to haunt new efforts at conflict reduction and prevention in Africa. We hope that the time has come when the Security Council will not hesitate to summon the political will necessary to address conflict situations in Africa now and in the future.

With regard to cooperation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), my delegation is in agreement with several suggestions already made by many delegations, such as encouraging more visits by the OAU Secretary-General and his officials to consult with the Council on matters of common interest. The OAU, however, is essentially a political organization, and its military and logistical capacity for conflict prevention and resolution are limited. It is in that area, therefore, that support is critically needed.

We believe also that the Council should widen its sources in the consultative process. I refer to the need to involve parties closely affected by a conflict that the Council is considering. Here, I recall the Security Council meeting held on 21 September 1999, at which the President of Zambia, who served as mediator on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, had a very useful exchange with the Council. As the representative of India said, one hopes that these meetings are not essentially symbolic, but that the Council will actually look at what its visitors — those it is consulting — say and will consider it and see what it can do with it.

As to the means of African peacekeeping, we should look at the peace missions themselves. Here, planning

should be comprehensive, and missions should be mandated for periods longer than the traditional three to six months, a period that is too short properly to assess the chances of a mission's success or failure.

Also, the strength of a mission should be commensurate with the job to be performed. For example, we are told that in Sierra Leone combatants number about 45,000; the United Nations force that has been put in place numbers about 6,000. It is not difficult to see that it is very hard for a force of that strength to carry out normal peacekeeping duties and then carry out the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme as well.

With respect to additional instruments, I agree with Ambassador Fowler of Canada that it is not a question of additional instruments; it is more a question of improving the quality of the measures already in place. Ambassador Fowler's new and improved sanctions regime against UNITA is a case in point, and my delegation looks forward to the publication of the sanctions Committee's report in February 2000.

As mentioned by several delegations in one form or another, where our action is necessary is in providing a mechanism to investigate arms trafficking and to stop arms from being exported to areas of conflict in Africa. Voluntary moratoriums on arms exports do not work. It is therefore absolutely necessary publicly to expose private companies and national Governments that put profit before human lives. Public censure, we believe, cannot fail to be a positive instrument for conflict reduction.

The President: I thank the representative of Zambia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): I thank you, Mr. President, for this timely initiative.

Norway remains firmly committed to peace and development in Africa, and we welcome this opportunity to discuss suggestions and ideas for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations in its partnership with the African continent. We believe that it is important, first, to build a comprehensive approach to conflicts in Africa and, secondly, to develop effective cooperation with African institutions. By a comprehensive approach, we are thinking of the capacity of the United Nations to prevent conflicts, to apply a set of measures attuned to the various stages of a conflict, and to support post-conflict measures.

On the question of the prevention of conflict, we all agree that there is a need now to move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention, as the Secretary-General has put it. We must strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to conduct preventive diplomacy. In that connection, my Government would appeal to other donor countries to support the Trust Fund for Preventive Action.

Effective programmes for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants are of crucial importance in establishing comprehensive peace operations. It is a fact that the presence of a large number of small arms and light weapons can be a major destabilizing factor, can undermine the security of war-affected populations, and can threaten the safety of international peacekeepers and humanitarian personnel. The international community should provide the necessary resources for such programmes to address such challenges effectively.

Poverty, underdevelopment and violent conflict are closely linked. A significant challenge for the United Nations as a whole is to ensure that the measures decided upon by the Security Council work in tandem with other efforts, such as those of United Nations funds, programmes and specialized agencies, as well as those of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the regional banks.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), representing all African countries, has a particularly important role to play in promoting peace and stability in Africa. Close collaboration among the OAU, the United Nations and national Governments is needed to resolve conflicts on the African continent. While we believe that the United Nations is the organization best suited to lead and coordinate complex multi-functional peace operations, it will often need to draw on regional and subregional organizations when military forces are called for. It is therefore important to strengthen regional capacity for participation in peace operations. Norway is contributing to that end.

Furthermore, the United Nations should work closely with regional organizations in order to establish common principles for training personnel and units intended for participation in peace operations. In our

view, it is important also to establish common organizational structures for interaction between the United Nations and the regional organizations in question, and to improve effective multi-functional planning and coordination. In order to realize those important aims, those Member countries with greater financial resources and extensive experience in peace operations should provide funding and personnel to establish a self-sustaining peacekeeping capacity within the regional security organizations.

In conclusion, let me mention that today a number of suggestions have been put forward on how to improve the effectiveness of the United Nations in its partnership with Africa. My delegation would like to emphasize, however, that, in order for such ideas to be implemented, sufficient resources are needed. We therefore call on the international community to increase its support to the United Nations and to African regional and subregional organizations in order to strengthen their capacity to meet the security and development concerns of Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Norway for the kind words he addressed to me.

Let me thank my colleagues in the European Union who will be addressing the Council, who have agreed to limit their contributions to two minutes, which is very good of them. It does not imply any lesser contribution to Africa's interests.

The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): My delegation is delighted, Sir, to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council today. I congratulate you on your delegation's assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of December. We have every confidence that under the able and skilful hand of Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock the Council will deal successfully with the issues before it. Allow me also to extend our congratulations to Ambassador Danilo Türk, the Permanent Representative of Slovenia, on his skilful stewardship of the Council's activities last month.

The Indonesian delegation takes this opportunity to express its appreciation to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Council for convening this interactive discussion at a critical juncture for the African continent. We also commend the choice of format for today's discussion, which enhances the possibility for further involvement by Member States not members of the Security Council in the discussion of issues before the Council. We look forward to the application of such a format to the discussion of other crucial issues concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

Before proceeding further, I should like also to convey our sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General for his opening remarks, which focused our attention on his innovative suggestions and ideas for improving the partnership between the United Nations and Africa.

As we all know, the African continent has for long time been plagued by internal and cross-border conflicts that show only marginal signs of ending. As democratic Africa blooms, war-torn Africa bleeds. While African States such as Nigeria have consigned their internal wars to the past, others are still locked in a seemingly endless cycle of revolution and violence. Regrettably, half of the violent conflicts in the world are in Africa. The reality also is that the worst-hit victims are not the combatants, but the millions of innocent civilians caught in the middle.

In addressing these complex and interrelated issues, the General Assembly and the Security Council have held a myriad of discussions and have even taken decisions on Africa in this past year, on both generic and focused issues. Those discussions have provided the opportunity to take stock of the problems faced by Africa, and thereby enabled the submission of several thoughtful suggestions.

However, the magnitude of problems facing Africa is still enormous. Before commenting on the three basic questions put forward by the presidency, allow me to make the following remarks. It is not erroneous to assume that wherever conflicts take place, the population in question holds the key to their settlement. Nevertheless, as the Secretary-General stated in his report, those nations making good-faith efforts and adopting enlightened policies deserve much greater support than they are now receiving. It is clear that the predicament in Africa can be attributed to a lack of sincere and thorough commitment by the international community, particularly the Security Council, both in providing adequate personnel in pursuit of peacekeeping and conflict-prevention efforts and in providing the necessary funds to sustain them. While we welcome the generous contribution of the United Kingdom to the

United Nations Trust Fund for Improving Preparedness for Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping in Africa, it is deplorable that the Fund, as an example of several funds intended for Africa within the Organization, has received only one contribution, of $250,745.

My delegation shares the view that if the international community, especially Member States which have been blessed with surplus resources, could demonstrate a genuine commitment to Africa, that would, without doubt, increase the prospects of success in peacemaking and conflict prevention efforts on that continent and also pave the way to sustainable development efforts in a post-conflict peace-building era.

In this context, and in relation to the first and third questions, on improving coordination and cooperation between the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the key subregional organizations, and also on creating additional instruments of the Council for tackling the issue of Africa, we would like to convey our deepest appreciation for the role played by the OAU, key subregional organizations and several African States which have contributed significantly in pursuit of conflict settlement. In the endeavours to improve coordination between the Council and these regional organizations, it might be most beneficial if representatives from each organization could meet simultaneously in order to establish terms of reference to be used as a basis for promoting concrete coordination and cooperation between the organizations on an agreed footing and in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

In situations where the basis has been laid out and agreed upon, one could envision the possibility of establishing a Security Council team on Africa, consisting of several members of the Council, with one representative for each regional group and supported consensually by all the members of the Council. It would have the dual function of serving as a clearing house for information on African issues in the Council and of submitting concrete recommendations in close coordination with the Office of the Secretary-General, the OAU, key subregional organizations and relevant African countries on issues of peacemaking and conflict prevention. The establishment of such a mechanism could also serve as an early warning system in order to prevent major humanitarian disasters in the future.

In addressing the second question, on meeting the needs for African peacekeeping more effectively, several main issues need to be highlighted. In our view, while welcoming the recommendation made by the Secretary-General in his latest report on Africa that it should support regional and subregional initiatives in the areas of conflict prevention and the maintenance of peace, based on agreements with the regional organization and the host country, the Security Council should also explore the possibility of establishing a preventive deployment force, as in Europe, in order to prevent the spread of conflicts to other areas.

It is my delegation's belief, too, that in the efforts to bolster the capabilities of African peacekeeping, the endeavour to increase the quantity and quality of national and regional capability should be well supported, with the involvement of the international community, including in areas of training and information exchange within the framework of the United Nations system, as discussed at the special meeting convened by the Secretariat, in coordination with the OAU on 21 January 1999, in which 51 states, including African States, participated.

In addressing the issue of African peacekeeping capabilities, especially in terms of real time, it is worth noting that the standby arrangements system under the United Nations needs to be further pursued, not only by African States, but also by other countries. Let me take this opportunity to convey the information that Indonesia is now considering the possibility of further increasing our peacekeeping participation in Africa.

Finally, it is my delegation's fervent hope that our discussion today will enrich our coordinated approach to the issues of the maintenance of peace and security in Africa, and in no way give room for the encroachment of Afro-pessimism or even Africa fatigue in the international community as a whole.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Sweden. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dahlgren (Sweden): I will focus, Mr. President, on your question of additional instruments for the Council, in particular on the arms embargoes in Africa. My point is that the Security Council must be much more serious about ensuring that there are efficient mechanisms to implement these arms embargoes. Anyone who has travelled in an embargoed country, or who has sat on a sanctions Committee, knows how wide is the gap between what is said in Council resolutions and what is actually going on on the ground, including in these

African States. That discrepancy is undermining the authority of this Council, and we have to deal with that also. As you yourself, Mr. President, said this morning, now it is time to make sanctions bite. The question is "how?" I will present three ideas.

First, individual Member States have clear responsibility to prevent exports from and to prevent transfers through, their own countries. That common responsibility can in many cases be much better respected.

Secondly, the sanctions Committees must be more active. Ambassador Fowler has shown clearly how these Committees can do much more than they have done before. Council members have given the Committees the very important task of monitoring and implementing arms embargoes, and they must be much better equipped to carry out that task, to improve information gathering, to get the best intelligence available, to follow every lead when breaches are reported and to act forcefully when breaches are confirmed. Only then, I think, will their actions be enough of a deterrent to help halt illegal arms transfers.

Thirdly, the monitoring capacity on the ground must improve. That can be achieved through better cooperation, perhaps, with the regional organizations. United Nations peacekeepers themselves could probably also be more operational. And perhaps, in addition to regular peacekeepers, a case could be made for the deployment of personnel who could assist neighbouring States in the regular patrolling and checking of border crossings.

Making a serious effort to implement arms embargoes will involve both political will and additional resources. Some will truly ask "Can the United Nations afford more expenses?" My answer is that if one can stop a war that takes the lives of thousands of people, primarily innocent civilians, by being better at implementing arms embargoes, that is a price well worth paying.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Ireland. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): I associate Ireland with Ambassador van Walsum's acknowledgement this morning of the United Kingdom and the United States, as the Council presidencies that will straddle the millennium, for their initiatives in Council procedures today and next month. We, too, will await the creative initiatives of future presidencies in this regard. I also associate Ireland fully with the statement made this morning by Finland on behalf of the European Union.

We have listened very carefully to a useful debate in which delegations made a wide range of suggestions. The Council itself already referred to a number of these in its presidential statement of 30 November. In that statement, the Council reaffirmed its commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is my delegation's conviction that from now on this commitment will be tested principally in Africa.

I would like to stress the central role of the Organization of African Unity, both today under Algerian chairmanship and henceforth. We have seen the emergence of a number of important African subregional organizations which have become actively engaged in the work of conflict prevention and resolution. Individual African leaders have also engaged actively in the search for peace. As the Ambassador of Cameroon pointed out, this has opened the possibility of the application of Articles 52 and 53 of the Charter of the United Nations. This is a highly positive development, deserving the strongest possible support.

However, a developed capacity for conflict prevention at the regional and subregional levels in Africa cannot be created overnight, or by the Security Council on its own. Given its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council has a duty to give the necessary impetus to this process and to ensure that the required resources are available. It is not satisfactory that urgent efforts are made to provide the necessary support at the regional level only when disputes are well on the way to becoming, or have already become, large-scale conflicts.

The point has been made strongly here today that for a peacekeeping operation to succeed the parties to the dispute or the conflict must demonstrate their willingness to make and keep the peace. Such willingness is, of course, central. But there is another consideration, and that is the credibility of a peace process and of the Council itself. Without such credibility the parties are so much less likely to respect a peace process or to heed the calls made on them by the Council. An impression of foot-dragging by the Council could be as fatal to a peace process as the bad faith of belligerents. From this derives

the essential need for the Council to take, and to be seen to take, prompt and decisive action.

Finally, several participants have referred to the economic causes and consequences of conflict. The Secretary-General and some others have stressed the nexus between peace and development. African and non-African Member States, including my own, are partners in development, the importance of which was stressed by the Ambassador of Uganda. Very considerable resources have been and must continue to be committed to providing Africa with the necessary investment for development. It is hardly sensible therefore to place this appropriate, necessary investment at risk for the sake of the relatively very modest resources that would make all the difference in ensuring effective peacekeeping in Africa.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Adam (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): Unlike you, Mr. President, I was not born in Africa, but I spent many years of my life there, and like you I am very aware of the woes and misfortunes that continent suffers.

I would like to endorse what was said earlier on behalf of the European Union by the representative of Finland. I have also been listening keenly to what my African colleagues have said here. I would like simply to respond on three points.

First, as regards AIDS, I heard Ambassador Holbrooke's comments this morning and would like to fully endorse them. AIDS kills more people than war, and AIDS kills as war does. That is, it is a disease that kills people in the prime of life, people capable of being productive and creative. The survivors are children and the elderly, who are thus condemned to live in ever-worsening poverty. So I believe that our countries must do more to mitigate the effects of this epidemic.

Unfortunately, AIDS is not the only disease. There is malaria, which remains a tragic scourge in Africa, and other diseases, such as sleeping sickness, which continues to cause major devastation, particularly because it often strikes practically impenetrable parts of the continent.

Secondly, there are the expectations of African countries. I heard a variety of comments made here about this. Some speakers have talked of procrastination, others about double standards. It is true that if we decide to wait until the conditions are ideal for intervening in Africa — I am afraid that such ideal conditions will never see the light of day. If we wait for conditions to be perfect before we undertake a perfect operation, we will never do anything.

We are told that the United Nations is no longer entitled to make mistakes. I believe that, unfortunately, all human endeavours are subject to error from time to time, and we must assume a certain amount of risk.

Thus, I am brought to my third point: the Africans themselves. During the debate chaired by the Prime Minister of the Netherlands a few months ago, I said — and I believe it is worth repeating here — that the Africans must help us help them. I have in mind in particular a country with which we have very close ties, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Lusaka process. We would like to see the African parties to that conflict more directly involved in the implementation of the commitments they made in Lusaka. On the contrary, however, we are hearing a lot of rumours of war and of military reinforcements, a lot of threats coming from the various fronts of that complex and devastating war.

I appeal to my African friends. They must help us help them. There must be a change in attitude; a commitment to peace must take hold. Too many regions of Africa and too many people in Africa believe that the only way to improve their lot is to take up arms. I think this is a mistake. I think we must offer other prospects based on both North-South and South-South partnership.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and for giving me the floor. I am another humble son of Africa. I can be added to the list. I was born and raised in the continent, and so I can be added to the list of the Ambassador of the Bahamas.

The first conclusion I would like to draw from this meeting is that we have to work harder to utilize the range of instruments already available. Let me discuss a few of these specifically.

The first is that the United Nations should work more closely with regional and subregional organizations. The United Nations cannot abdicate its duty to maintain

international peace and security by delegating that responsibility to African regional or subregional organizations. However, when the United Nations seeks their assistance and participation — a mechanism that should be encouraged — it has to be ensured that those organizations have all the means necessary to carry out those functions.

Secondly, I want to address the issue of the insufficient use of preventive diplomacy, such as fact-finding missions, Security Council missions and other similar instruments. I must recall the effectiveness of the Security Council mission to Jakarta last September, which greatly facilitated our work in East Timor. At the same time, I cannot forget how difficult it was to establish it. Thus, I believe that we have to use more of these instruments and other missions — missions, for instance, of representatives of the Secretary-General. I must here remember and pay homage to the mission that Maître Blondin Beye was undertaking when he died — a mission to some African capitals, undertaken in the eleventh hour in the hope of getting support to persuade Jonas Savimbi to abide by the Lusaka Protocol.

I would also like to discuss the idea of preventive deployment. Why has the previous success with preventive deployment in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, for instance, not been replicated elsewhere, and particularly in Africa?

Another instrument that was referred to by previous speakers is that of targeted sanctions. This very important, but the work of the sanctions committees should not be bureaucratic but businesslike. Committees should regularly evaluate their own work and become proactive in fulfilling their mandates. The Council should encourage this trend and add its political weight whenever necessary. If this does not happen, arms embargoes, for instance, will continue to be the farce that they currently are.

In the context of the sanctions committees, I must praise the work carried out by Ambassador Fowler. This is a good example that should now be followed.

We know, however, that there are no quick fixes for solving African problems. That is precisely why we strongly support urgent and sustained action, as was requested this morning by the Secretary-General.

Let me stress the importance of an ingredient usually missing when the Security Council deals with conflicts in Africa. I refer to what is boldly termed "post-conflict peace-building". This is a very important idea that was long refused linkage here in the Security Council and that some consider to be a General Assembly instrument. I believe that it can be used in certain situations, particularly now that we are thinking about deploying a peacekeeping operation to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I think this peacekeeping operation should be followed by elements of peace-building. That is why I recall the idea of convening an international conference on the Great Lakes region.

I wish to say one final word to state the obvious. There should be no competition for allocation of resources between different regions of the globe. As the Secretary-General reminded us this morning, this Organization has to provide the tools, including financial ones, to implement its own resolutions and decisions.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Francese (Italy): I am particularly glad to be speaking at the end of this very interesting debate because this has been an occasion for learning, an occasion for developing further new ideas on how to tackle an area of the world that is at the centre of the interest and affections of my own country.

We are also particularly glad to work under your guidance tonight in this debate, Sir, for two reasons. The first is the substance of the issue, which is very central and very topical to the interests and responsibilities of the United Nations. The topical character of the African issue resides not solely in military threats to peace and security in that region, but also in the many non-military threats. I can mention here epidemics, smuggling, minority problems and other social and economic weaknesses that the United Nations has to tackle with all the powers, instruments and mechanisms at its disposal.

The second reason, of course, is that we appreciate how the British delegation, in charge of the presidency of the Security Council this month, decided to hold this meeting with modalities that allow a wide representation of Member States to express their views in such a very important forum as the Security Council.

Allow me to say at the beginning of my brief statement that we endorse fully what was said earlier by the Permanent Representative of Finland on behalf of the European Union. I therefore wish to confine my

comments to two basic areas. The first is better use of existing mechanisms and instruments of the Charter. We can consider that the Charter contains a number of instruments that can be optimized. I might refer, for instance, to Article 65, which has a history of not being employed. I would refer, too, to another initiative and proposal which was advanced in the General Assembly by the President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) himself, who emphasized the role of the open-ended working group that the General Assembly decided at its fifty-third session to set up but has not yet acted on. This working group could make sure that Africa remains at the top of the priorities of the United Nations. As the Secretary-General himself pointed out in his address of 8 December, the working group should consolidate and ensure the consistency of efforts to implement such a high priority. Otherwise, the proliferation of initiatives would threaten to create more problems than solutions.

At this stage, Sir, allow me to enter into an interactive mode with you, because you made some very interesting proposals at the beginning of this meeting. You referred to how illegal trafficking worsens some specific regional and subregional crises in Africa. I should like to refer to the case of United Nations organs, such as the sanctions committees, that are sometimes not used to their full potential. We have examples of sanctions committees that have not been used for an extended number of years.

Also, you referred to the Security Council's need for better readiness to act in connection with various crises. Readiness would require, first of all, financial resources. I will not return to a point that has been widely addressed tonight and I can but underline the validity of proposals made on how to reinforce the readiness of the United Nations in the field of finances for peacekeeping.

Also, you yourself mentioned, Sir, and quite rightly — we could not be in greater agreement with you — the need for better logistical readiness. Here again, this is an area where more can be done along the lines of what has already been done in similar areas. I would just refer to the existence of a logistics base for humanitarian intervention that is located in the middle of the Mediterranean area, very close to most of the peace and security crises that have erupted of late. Something along the same lines could be done to ensure a better readiness of equipment for peacekeeping interventions.

I would refer to how the Security Council itself can take better initiatives, for instance in the way of missions in areas of crisis. I would just give a word of warning. In this instance, the Security Council should take better account of what has already been done by subregional organizations and groups of interested countries active in specific areas of crisis because they are located there or because they have historical or other links of interest and cooperation with that very area.

The second comment I would like to make is that we welcome a focus on existing political resources. Of course, we welcome attempts to prevent overlapping or duplication of mediation efforts. At the same time, we support initiatives to focus the resources of all interested actors on a common effort within the framework of the United Nations. For instance, we deem to be very useful mechanisms established to bring together here at the United Nations countries and organizations interested in specific countries, such as happened in the cases of Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Somalia. We support greater use of contact groups and special conferences. In this regard, we feel that it might be advisable to ensure in these cases the presence of the European Union Presidency, due to the role that Europe as a whole plays in Africa in cooperation and other efforts.

In particular, the special meeting convened on 21 January 1999 by the Secretariat, in coordination with the OAU, addressed ways and means of supporting African peacekeeping capacity. We hope that another such meeting will be convened at the beginning of the coming year, this time with the participation of the Organization of African Unity and of the subregional organizations most concerned.

In the end, we appreciate most of the proposals advanced today and fully endorse the pragmatic ideas that the Secretary-General himself presented at the opening of this meeting.

Now, words must be turned into action. Words must be turned into steps to shorten the time it takes for the Council to act and grant greater authority and effectiveness to its actions to find solutions to specific crises. We want to reverse the impression that has been voiced authoritatively in the General Assembly, even of late, by one of the prominent permanent representatives of Africa to the United Nations when he said that the arguments often advanced for inaction or delays had led Africans to believe that there was selective treatment from the Security Council and that the United Nations as a whole was discriminating against Africa. It is the responsibility of all of us, especially those countries better equipped in terms of national means and

resources — and all Member States in any case — to ensure that a different message gets out — namely, that the United Nations is prepared to stake its credibility on Africa.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Flores (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation endorses the statement made by the representative of Finland on behalf of the European Union and emphasizes the importance of this debate, convened by the British presidency of the Security Council, as a wake-up call to the international community on the magnitude of Africa's problems and the need to devote the same interest and resources to them that are devoted to other parts of the world.

With respect to conflict prevention, the fact that the Security Council is preventively addressing any particular problem is in and of itself a powerful deterrent. The instruments available are familiar to all. In all such Security Council action, we believe that it is crucial to preserve three action-oriented criteria. We must maintain the unity of the Security Council to prevent differences among members from leading to stalemates. We must improve the transparency of the Council's working methods — this debate being a good example thereof — in order to broaden the basis of support for its decisions. The mechanisms of the Charter must be fully respected, in particular the role set aside for the Security Council and for the Secretary-General's preventive diplomacy.

With regard to peacekeeping operations, what is crucial is United Nations coordination with the African regional and subregional organizations and cooperation by the international community to strengthen the African capacities in these operations. In this context, Spain has participated in the Gabon 2000 exercise and has recently signed a memorandum with the Secretariat to make rapid deployment forces available to the United Nations.

Finally, concerning conflict resolution, the processes for disarming and reintegrating combatants into civil and political life of the country are fundamental. The case of Central America provides a good example of what can be achieved when these reconciliation and reconstruction measures are correctly implemented. Strengthening democratic institutions and modernizing the police and civil safety are also important.

The President: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list, but I should like to make some concluding remarks myself as Council President.

I first of all welcome back the Secretary-General to join us. I thank everybody for entering into the spirit of this debate. The willingness, for the most part, to keep interventions brief and to the point has allowed us to cover a great deal of ground. I would have preferred to have had time for greater interaction afterwards. I know that, for example, the Ambassador of the Netherlands would have like to have come back, but as we learn this format — and I note that the Ambassador of Sierra Leone has asked that it become a regular feature of Security Council debates, and no doubt that will be considered — perhaps greater interaction could proceed to great benefit.

A lot of useful ideas and suggestions have been made, and we heard a lot today about double standards. We must replace double standards by common purpose. We must replace divided counsels by common action, and today's debate is a big step forward in doing so. I intend to make the conclusions public, as was requested, and distribute them to all United Nations Member States. I hope this will feed into the Council's future work.

First of all, there was a broad consensus that we should try to institute regular and more structured consultations and coordination between the Council and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the regional bodies. A number of useful suggestions have been made, such as joint envoys, missions, exchanges of staff, working groups and more regular meetings between the Security Council, the OAU and subregional bodies. I hope that the Council will now work up some detailed proposals so that decisions can be taken before the end of January on what they should be doing and how.

Second, we heard views today, particularly from African Member States, which send a clear message. The United Nations is not responding quickly or effectively enough to meet the peacekeeping needs of Africa. We heard today many useful, practical suggestions: increasing capacity and planning in the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, enhancing its ability to hold more stocks of key equipment and quickly deploy them; and further United Nations help to build Africa's own peacekeeping capabilities, including through training, personnel exchange and logistics partnership arrangements. These are all critical elements in the package, and the Council has today given strong support for taking them forward.

Participants have been equally clear that providing the right resources is critical. The importance of matching resources to mandates has also been widely stressed. So have the limitations of trust-fund financing for peacekeeping. More support for regional peacekeeping efforts were stressed by a number of delegations.

But it is clear from the debate today that none of these measures is a substitute for greater political engagement from the Council in conflicts in Africa. Only with that will there be greater engagement by the United Nations in peacekeeping there and greater success as a result.

A wide variety of important proposals have been raised today: preventive deployments; more use of Security Council missions; imaginative use of friends or contacts or other forms of support groups; better cooperation between the Council and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), especially in building peace after conflicts; better use of the variety of diplomatic channels available to us; improved coordination cooperation with regional and subregional groups; more effective collective diplomatic action by the Council and wider United Nations membership; and stricter and more targeted implementation of the Council's other key tool: sanctions and arms embargoes.

Many speakers stressed the crucial importance of preventive action to address root causes of conflict. I also endorse calls for greater focus on AIDS prevention. Five thousand five hundred Africans are dying a day from AIDS, as the Secretary-General has previously reported to us. I agree too that ensuring the rights of minorities and genuine power-sharing in divided societies is important to prevent conflict.

Many speakers have pointed to the need for better early warning and exchange of analysis. If this is to succeed, we must all — the Secretariat, the OAU and United Nations Member States — contribute. Potential conflict zones must be brought to the Council's attention, enabling it to act in time. It is the responsibility of all of us to use the Council to do this and to strengthen existing early-warning mechanisms, including those of the OAU.

I intend to return to the Council to participate in one or more of the United States presidency's Africa meetings. I shall ask our permanent representative to start work with others around this table to ensure action by the Council as quickly as possible following this meeting. I hope that we will see the first results within the next few weeks. Today's debate shows that all of us want to move quickly.

I want to conclude with an observation. Africa still gets a very bad press, and Africa has many real problems. But all of those who know and love Africa know that Africa can and will build a better future for itself, a future of peace, prosperity and democracy. The people who will build lasting peace in Africa are the people of Africa itself. But it is our duty to help them. Today's debate shows that the Council and the wider United Nations membership are indeed resolved to do so.

In my presidency capacity, I thank all of those who contributed to today's debate and apologize to all of those who have been unable to speak.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4081 (Resumption 1)/Corr.1

Security Council

Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4081st Meeting

Wednesday, 15 December 1999, 3 p.m.
New York

Corrigendum

Page 3, first column, last paragraph

For **Mr. Takasu** (Japan) *read* **Mr. Satoh** (Japan)

00-21824
99-86807 (E)

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United Nations S/PV.4082

Security Council
Fifty-fourth Year

Provisional

4082nd Meeting
Wednesday, 15 December 1999, 6.20 p.m.
New York

President:	Sir Jeremy Greenstock	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Petrella
	Bahrain	Mr. Buallay
	Brazil	Mr. Fonseca
	Canada	Mr. Angell
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Gabon	Mr. Ebourny
	Gambia	Mr. Samba
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. van Walsum
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sergeev
	Slovenia	Mr. Benedejčič
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/1999/1203 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

99-86741 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus (S/1999/1203 and Corr. 1 and Add. 1)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, document S/1999/1203 and corrigendum 1 and addendum 1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1999/1249, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1999/1249) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bahrain, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Gabon, Gambia, Malaysia, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Slovenia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1283 (1999).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.